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ABSTRACT

Early Childhood Research and Practice (ECRP), a peer-reviewed, Internet-only journal sponsored by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Elementary and Early Childhood Education (ERIC/EECE), covers topics related to the development, care, and education of children from birth to approximately age 8. ECRP emphasizes articles reporting on practice-related research and on issues related to practice, parent participation, and policy. Also included are articles and essays that present opinions and reflections. The first part of this issue of ECRP contains the following major articles: (1) "The Missing Support Infrastructure in Early Childhood" (J. Gallagher and R. Clifford); (2) "Home-Community Visits during an Era of Reform (1870-1920)" (Navaz Peshotan Bhavnagri and Sue Krolikowski); and (3) "Comparisons in Early Years Education: History, Fact, and Fiction" (Mary Jane Drummond). The second part of the issue contains a special section on the Project Approach. Following an introduction by Lilian Katz, the articles in this section are: (1) "Dynamic Aims: The Use of Long-Term Projects in Early Childhood Classrooms in Light of Dewey's Educational Philosophy" (Michael Glassman and Kimberlee Whaley); (2) "The Project Approach: Meeting the State Standards" (Dot Schuler); (3) "Linking Standards and Engaged Learning in the Early Years" (Judy Harris Helm and Gaye Gronlund); (4) "Continuity and Purpose in the Design of Meaningful Project Work" (Amy McAninch); and (5) "Implementing the Project Approach in Part-Time Early Childhood Education Programs" (Sallee Beneke). The issue concludes with an ERIC database search on policy issues in early childhood education and a description of new ERIC/EECE publications and activities, along with general information and links related to the journal. (LPP)

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ECRP
Early Childhood Research & Practice

an Internet journal on the development, care, and education of young children

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Volume 2, Number 1

The Missing Support Infrastructure in Early Childhood

J. Gallagher & R. Clifford

Frank Porter Graham Child Development Center
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Editors' Note:

The Gallagher and Clifford paper presented below addresses one of the central issues in the field of early childhood education and care: the creation of an infrastructure to support early childhood personnel so as to optimize the care and education of young children in this country. Because the authors have raised such critical issues, we are using this opportunity to take advantage of the electronic medium of the journal by providing a forum for readers to contribute to a continuing discussion of them.

We invite you to be part of this ongoing electronic discussion. We have provided a "dialog box" that makes it easy to comment on the article to suggest additional considerations, to contest or agree with the authors' assertions, or to focus on how we might move this discussion forward in the policy arena. We will post selected substantive contributions by topic on this Web site for further discussion. Please join us in this important discussion.

Lilian G. Katz & Dianne Rothenberg

Abstract

Noting that current programs for young children outside the home lack a comprehensive infrastructure or support system to stand behind the delivery of services to the child and family, this paper proposes the development of a support infrastructure designed to provide continuing and effective assistance to those who work with young children. The paper notes that a support system for early childhood services would include the following components: (1) personnel preparation, (2) technical assistance, (3) applied research and program evaluation, (4) communication, (5) demonstration, (6) data systems, (7) comprehensive planning, and (8) coordination of support elements. The paper next discusses barriers to policy implementation that would result in a coordinated support infrastructure. These barriers are institutional, psychological, sociological, economic, political, and geographic in nature.

The paper then suggests strategies that might be implemented to bring about change, including identifying and cultivating powerful political forces, establishing planning structures, mounting a media initiative, and involving professional organizations. The paper concludes with suggestions for financing the infrastructure.

Introduction

As we move into the 21st century, young children under the age of 5 are still without comprehensive public policies to protect or enhance their status. While there are some subgroups in that age range that have received policy attention, for example, children in poverty and children with disabilities, most young children remain outside society's protective umbrella. There is currently no comprehensive or universal set of policies designed to provide a blanket of care and developmental enhancement for young children birth through 4 years without regard to their particular individual circumstances.

The issue as to *where* young children should be raised, and *by whom*, has been muted by the fact that currently over 60% of mothers with children under 5 are in the workforce (Galinsky, Howes, Kontos, & Shinn, 1994). While there should be very few barriers erected to parents raising their children as they choose, there obviously needs to be some public and societal answer to the question "Who cares for young children?"

One of the most striking characteristics of the current programs for young children outside the home is the absence of a comprehensive infrastructure or support system to stand behind the delivery of services to the child and family. The definition of the term "infrastructure" by *Webster's New World Dictionary* is "a substructure or underlying foundation; esp., the basic installations and facilities on which the continuance and growth of a community, state, etc., depend, as roads, schools, power plants, transportation and communication systems, etc." (Guralnik, 1972, p. 723).

The characteristics of high-quality child care programs do not really stir many debates within the professional community. A definition of high-quality child care has been presented by many observers (see Kagan & Cohen, 1997; Gormley, 1995; Bredekamp, 1987) who agree that there should be well-trained personnel, working in an attractive setting, with materials designed to enhance children's development. The children should work and play in small groups with a reasonable child-to-teacher ratio, and there should be opportunities for continued staff training. The policy issue is how to engineer these favorable conditions in the face of the many problems and limitations that child care workers and directors are confronted with, namely, limited government support, restricted family resources, and a fragmented support system (Helburn, 1995).

As Gormley (1995) has pointed out, "Child care is a labor problem, a social problem, a regulatory problem, and, of course, a familial problem" (p. 32). Given the range of issues to be addressed, it seems unlikely in the extreme that such problems can be solved by a local day care center director and staff without substantial help from many different agencies and institutions in the broader society. The purpose of this paper is to propose the development of a support infrastructure designed to provide continuing and effective assistance to those who work on the "firing line" with young children.

Societal Infrastructures

There are many analogous enterprises in this society devoted to delivering services to the public that have designed infrastructures to support the significant activities that we value and need (Schopler, 1987). Two

examples of such infrastructures are the support systems behind the medical practitioner and the infantry soldier. In each instance, the person doing the "hands-on" work relies on many different people and institutions in order to do his or her job effectively. Physicians' work relies on research conducted in the medical schools and in the private sector designed to generate effective treatment procedures for their patients. Physicians have an active pharmaceutical enterprise designed to alert them to the latest in drugs for their patients, they have laboratories and X-ray capabilities for more effective diagnosis, a variety of nurses and paraprofessionals to provide support for their practice, plus hospitals available for intensive service delivery when needed.

In many instances, the patient may be unaware of these various support or infrastructure features. She knows that the doctor has examined the patient and prescribed a treatment. If such treatment works, the patient is convinced that she has a "good doctor" and may not be aware that what she has is, in fact, a *good system of health care*, of which the physician is one important feature.

In a similar fashion, though with different purposes, infantry soldiers have been lionized for their heroism in combat—justifiably so, but consider the research and development effort to produce better weapons, a vast communication and logistics enterprise designed to have the forces and right materials in the right place at the right time, a major intelligence effort to seek information on the intentions of the enemy, and so forth. With this impressive support, the infantry soldier is free to do his job in the most efficient way.

Compared with these two examples, and many more that we can draw upon from our complex society, the support mechanisms available to the child care provider are scattered and uncertain. Instead of focusing our concerns on the poorly paid child care workers and overcrowded centers, we might find useful a review of what would be needed to transform early childhood programs into a high-quality system of services.

The Quality Support System

We have known for some years about the various elements of a support system for early childhood services, including an infrastructure that can be introduced to upgrade this human service system (Gallagher, 1994). Some of these components are (1) personnel preparation, (2) technical assistance, (3) applied research and program evaluation, (4) communication, (5) demonstration, (6) data systems, (7) comprehensive planning, and (8) coordination of support elements.

Personnel Preparation

There is little disagreement about the important role that the personnel preparation of a wide variety of specialists can play in the design of high-quality services for young children (Kagan & Cohen, 1997). Yet these programs for personnel preparation are widely scattered by discipline, by geography, and by institution, and they are rarely linked directly to the service delivery enterprise. If we are to have competent staff, a wide array of personnel preparation programs (preservice and in-service) are necessary, with considerable stress placed on upgrading the capabilities of persons now on the job through short-term training. There needs to be an agreement on a *career ladder* that would allow a person working in early childhood to continuously improve herself or himself through personnel preparation. Universities, community colleges, resource and referral agencies, as well as state and federal agencies, should all participate collaboratively in the design and execution of a total personnel preparation program (Bredekamp, 1987). One example of specific attempts to improve personnel preparation is the TEACH program in North Carolina that provides subsidies for child care workers willing to make a commitment to further education (Blank & Poersch, 1999).

This TEACH program, designed to upgrade the education level of the teacher and provide additional compensation for the teacher, is now in operation in 13 states. In addition to improving staff quality, the program also aims to reduce the high turnover in such positions.

Personnel preparation may well be the greatest stumbling block to the development of high-quality service for young children. Available research notes the critical role of personnel preparation but also documents the low level of general education and specialized training of those working with young children in the United States (Helburn, 1995). A major national initiative is needed to raise the level of trained personnel available to teach our young children.

Technical Assistance

Many early childhood programs have existed as lonely castles without easy access to professional support or assistance. Consequently, they have only the skills and knowledge of the on-site staff to guide them in their decisions regarding high-quality child care. The establishment of various technical assistance programs, perhaps regional centers within a state, would allow local providers to have access to a wide variety of consultation and support personnel that seems necessary for high-quality programs.

One source of technical assistance has been the network of resource and referral centers (http://www.naccrra.org/) funded by a combination of state and local sources with additional help from the Child Care Bureau (http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/ccb/index.html) in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. These centers have been established to aid parents in finding proper child care resources for their children, but they also provide some short-term training and assistance to early childhood programs, depending on the staffing and commitment of the individual centers.

The Head Start Bureau has established a series of Quality Improvement Centers (QICs) providing technical assistance to Head Start programs on a regional basis. In addition, there are other centers that provide support to personnel working with children from a variety of special populations. For example, QIC-D centers are designed to help the Head Start programs and staff cope with the special problems of children with disabilities (Zigler, Kagan, & Hall, 1996).

The Office of Special Education Programs has had a long history of supporting a variety of programs stressing technical assistance. The Regional Resource Centers provide a series of support functions for programs in their areas, and the National Early Childhood Technical Assistance System (NEC*TAS) (http://www.nectas.unc.edu/) has recently celebrated 25 years of consecutive service as a technical assistance center to programs for children with disabilities. NEC*TAS is now assisting state-level personnel in planning the allocation of resources for programs for young students with disabilities (Trohanis, 1985).

Each of these major federal agencies identified the need for technical assistance, more or less independently of each other. Many state departments of education have also become aware of the need for technical assistance but are currently struggling with limited personnel and the problem that the same individual who monitors programs also is expected to provide technical assistance for them—two incompatible roles. The vast majority of programs for young children have little or no technical assistance available to them.

Applied Research and Program Evaluation

High-quality programming and delivery of services require that early childhood educators are reflective

about our own performance and ourselves. Calls for "accountability" have become increasingly strident but are rarely accompanied by the necessary tools, strategies, or resources necessary to achieve that goal. There are several complicating factors that will require much attention before an acceptable level of accountability can be satisfactorily reached (Wiggins, 1993).

Issues of program evaluation in early childhood are complicated by the lack of general agreement as to the goal or goals from one program or community to another. Are the program goals the enhancement of cognitive development, the mastery of social skills, the attainment of effective attention and self-control, or other compelling goals?

Most early childhood programs must face the fact that, at their best, they may control only one-quarter of the influences or variance of the key developmental variables of the child. The neighborhood, family, siblings, and so forth, to say nothing of genetics, constitute the rest of the influence on the child. How can we sort out the program's influences in the face of these other forces?

Some states have attempted to begin an effort at evaluating early childhood programs such as the Smart Start program in North Carolina (Bryant et al., 1999) and the Georgia Prekindergarten program (Henderson, Basile, & Henry, 1999). The experience of the North Carolina program is instructive. Each of the counties was responsible for the design of its own early childhood program, and so the goals and program emphasis varied from one county to another. There were no generally agreed upon goals such as one would find in the primary grades, where mastery of reading and arithmetic skills makes broad state assessments more interpretable.

There remains the problem of how to organize or institutionalize an evaluative effort. Where will the headquarters and leadership of this effort be? Will it be contracted out to higher education? Will it be monitored through state agencies? And where will the necessary funding come from? We have, so far, greatly underestimated the cost of serious efforts in accountability. All of these issues and more suggest that this part of the infrastructure will be in a formative stage for at least the immediate future.

As is the case in medical research, the federal government has taken the lead in supporting funds for education and social science research. The Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI) and the Office of Special Education Programs (OSEP) in the U.S. Department of Education and the National Institute for Child Health and Human Development in the National Institutes of Health, as well as the Head Start Bureau and the Child Care Bureau in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, have made major investments in such investigations. Research findings can, and should, be universally applicable without regard to geography, and so it is less important that individual states sponsor this research activity—that is, what we learn about the enhancement of social skills in Texas can be easily adapted in Massachusetts.

One major initiative for collaborative research at the federal level has been a federal partnership among the National Science Foundation (NSF), the Department of Education's Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), and the National Institute for Child Health and Human Development (NICHD). This Interagency Education Research Initiative is designed to improve prekindergarten–12 student learning and achievement in reading, mathematics, and science by supporting rigorous research on large-scale implementations of promising educational practices. It is noteworthy that this $30–50 million initiative includes prekindergarten programs. Our overall investment in research for young children remains small and scattered compared with other age groups.

Communication

In this era of advanced electronics, it is surprising not to find more programs for young children linked, through a dozen different networks, to the latest knowledge and practices in what we know about young children, their care, and stimulation. Some coordinated efforts at devising a communication network and establishing an ongoing network on a statewide level would provide an important support service for the child care provider. The National Child Care Information Center (http://www.nccic.org) and the ERIC Clearinghouse on Elementary and Early Childhood Education (http://ericeece.org) have begun the task of charting and disseminating what we collectively know on this complex topic.

One of the many potential uses of our advanced technology for communications has been in personnel preparation. Distance learning classes designed to upgrade the capabilities of child care workers and early childhood specialists are becoming increasingly evident. To this date, the technology has run ahead of the administrative and political support necessary to institutionalize such efforts.

There are a number of states that have been active in establishing a stronger communication bond between the various elements of an early childhood program. In addition, there appears to be a substantial willingness on the part of public decision makers to spend more money on necessary technological additions so that such communication systems can become a reality. The Web site of the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) (http://www.naeyc.org), in 1999, exceeded one million hits during several one-month periods. We have seen only the beginnings of an effective communication system devoted to young children.

Demonstration

One strategy that has been often used to improve program quality is to identify outstanding programs, establish them as demonstration centers, and then urge other professionals to observe and emulate what is happening in those centers or programs that could be transferred to their own program. One of the oldest demonstration efforts in early childhood has been the Handicapped Children Early Education Program (HCEEP) that funded a variety of centers across the country illustrating high-quality program elements for young children with disabilities (DeWeerd, 1974). Those who direct or work in such demonstration programs are often valuable consultants to similar programs. Some demonstration centers can also play the role of a technical assistance center or in-service training unit. The High Scope Educational Research Foundation (http://www.highscope.org) is another rare example of a demonstration program in early childhood. There has been virtually no funding for demonstration programs outside those that focus upon "at-risk" populations.

Data Systems

One of the key elements in an effective early childhood infrastructure for a state would be the design of a data system for the systematic collection of information related to early childhood programs. It is often taken for granted by policy makers that information about various programs should be available automatically. So, when policy makers ask for the number of children cared for at home, or in family day care, or by relatives, they react with great surprise when they are told that no one knows the answer to those questions, or where to go to find the answers.

Since knowledge of the number of children in need of various services is critical to determining the projected cost of a program or services, it is a key element in comprehensive planning. A data system can also be useful to answer any number of questions, such as "Are minority children with special needs being served in the same proportion as their demographic proportion in the state?" (Hebbeler, 1993).

Federal agencies have been aware of the need for such basic data for their own planning purposes. The

National Center for Educational Statistics has added an early childhood education segment to its reporting (http://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/index.asp), and the National Child Care Information Center State Profiles (http://nccic.org/cctopics/stats.html) have been helpful in gathering statistics on personnel status and development. Still, these federal data sources must rely on the capabilities of the states to collect accurate information from local communities. Systems that deal with the prekindergarten data confront more problems than systems that deal with school-age children who can be conveniently found in one place—the schools. There is the additional problem of obtaining unduplicated counts of children receiving multiple services, and the problem of "confidentiality" because some mental health agencies are not able to share their files with other agencies.

While progress has been made in building some data systems at the federal level, the same cannot be said of data systems at state and local levels. A number of states have begun efforts to develop comprehensive data systems. It remains to be seen if such systems will receive the consistent support needed for their maintenance.

An interdisciplinary committee, with help from consultants with demonstrated expertise in data systems, will likely be necessary to carry out the initial design and implementation of a comprehensive early care and education data system. The persons who will have to provide the data for the system (early care and early education personnel) should have input into the design of the system.

It should not be imagined that the sizable technical problems involved in operating and upgrading data systems are the only difficulties facing those wishing to establish an early childhood data system. There are policy makers who do *not* wish to know some of the data that would come forth from such a data system because knowing such data (e.g., the number of children not being served) may force action that will result in expenditures that the policy maker might well wish *not* to make. The principle of *deniability* ("I never knew that things were in such bad shape!") is well established in the political realm, and a well-functioning data system may prevent the exercise of such denial.

Comprehensive Planning

One of the key aspects of an infrastructure is the ability to do comprehensive statewide planning and to be able to allocate resources over time and in a systematic manner to more easily reach the goals of the program. Such planning should bring together all of the various players and stakeholders in the early childhood domain; Head Start, child care, public schools, early intervention, parents, and citizens should all be represented in such a planning effort. Part of the plan would be devoted to determining the degree to which various other elements of the infrastructure (e.g., personnel preparation) should be receiving support. The Smart Start Program (http://www.smartstart-nc.org/) in North Carolina represents a multidisciplinary statewide effort to bring comprehensive planning to the delivery of services to all children and families in need from birth to school age (Bryant et al., 1999).

There is widespread recognition among the states of the need to develop comprehensive plans so that early childhood programs have some degree of continuity and stability in the face of widely varied state income from one year to the next. The budget problems of allocating resources often result in states not being able to make final budget decisions until late summer. This timing causes additional problems for the early childhood leaders who often do not know what resources they will have until a few weeks before they must start a new school year. So there is little argument that multiyear planning is needed—the issue is how to carry it out within the existing political system and how to coordinate the various support elements.

One dramatic case for the need for collaboration involves the transition of young children with disabilities from Part C of IDEA (birth to 3) to Part B of IDEA (3 to 5 years). In a number of states, different agencies

have the responsibilities for each of these developmental periods. Written interagency agreements have been developed to ease the transition (Wischnowski, Fowler, & McCollum, in press). Such agreements need the full cooperation and authority of the concerned agencies, plus a strong desire to implement the agreement. Otherwise, it becomes only another document ignored in favor of the status quo, turf battles, personal status, and other impediments to useful change (Harbin & McNulty, 1990).

Coordination of Support Elements

It is not enough to have all of these components present in a particular state; they must be linked together for maximum payoff. Yet, there are enormous barriers to be overcome because of the "parallel play" that the key agencies are engaging in, often not knowing what other agencies are doing, but each convinced of their own legitimate role in early childhood. Head Start is organized and funded at the federal level. Child care is governed largely at the state level with significant funding from the federal government. Prekindergarten programs in the schools are funded and governed through some combination of federal programs (Title 1), state special initiatives, and local government. Services for children with disabilities receive a major amount of oversight through federal legislation and regulation, but they are operated mostly through locally administered programs. With these overlapping responsibilities, providers and policy makers often find themselves making decisions that can be undone by the actions of others, unaware of the broad consequences of their own actions (Fowler, Donegan, Lueke, Hadden, & Phillips, in press). Currently, one could truthfully say no one governs or coordinates the early childhood services in the United States (Clifford, 1995).

The needed collaboration will take place under admittedly painful conditions so that there needs to be strong motivation to take this painful step. Gray and Hay (1987) believe that successful implementation of interorganizational consensus relies upon the perceived legitimacy of the project involved and the ability to include all key stakeholders. What type of interorganizational arrangement is made is dependent upon the "exchange relations" between groups (Cook, 1997). Two reasons for such collaborative efforts to be tried are *specialization* and *scarcity*. Specialization may mean that an agency representing the health field may be needed in comprehensive planning because of its special knowledge and expertise in that field. The issue of scarcity comes into play when interorganizational cooperation can have the advantage of creating economies of scale. The manifest shortages of personnel call for collaboration among higher education, community colleges, the providers, and supporting agencies.

Conflict among agencies can be expected because of the stress that inevitably occurs in a domain where scarce resources are to be divided. The actual study of conflict between agencies, however, has been quite limited; therefore, there needs to be an analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of conflict for a given agency (Di Stefano, 1984). Alexander (1995) has developed a series of examples of coordination between organizations, stressing the positive aspects of the links between elements rather than the overall properties of systems.

Unfortunately for those seeking simple answers to complex questions, our understanding of the development of young children becomes more and more complicated, requiring the attention of many diverse disciplines. The young child is swimming in a cultural sea that will shape that child's future reaction to events, and that shaping process never stops. Elder (1998) pointed out how individuals are shaped by their historical context (those who lived in the Great Depression or World War II, for example). So it is not just the child alone, or the child and the family alone, but the entire cultural environment that, in some manner, determines the child's reaction to school and education (Bronfenbrenner, 1989).

If we accept the persuasiveness of the arguments for a coordinated support infrastructure for young children, then we face another issue: "Why hasn't such an infrastructure been put into place?" In other

words, why don't we, as professionals, do what we know we should do? The answer to this question is considerably more complex than ignorance or malfeasance. This puzzle is at the heart of why change is difficult, and why the status quo has so much power. A careful review of the array of barriers to change would seem to be helpful in answering the key question above.

Barriers to Policy Implementation

In some respects, change appears to come easily to Americans—particularly when they adopt a new technology, such as the computer or VCR. Yet, when one tries, deliberately, to create change in services to citizens through policy shifts, there are often many barriers to overcome. For example, Gray and Hay (1987) propose that "unless other compelling incentives exist, powerful stakeholders will resist collaborative interventions so that they can preserve their individual control over the domain" (p. 99).

Figure 1 provides a summary of various types of barriers that the implementation of new policies must overcome: institutional, psychological, sociological, economic, political, and geographic barriers. In the case of programs in early childhood, there are a variety of potential barriers at work.

There are few policies that do not find some barriers that stand in the way of implementation. Success in policy implementation often depends on knowing the nature of these barriers, how they interact, and how they can be portrayed, so that an effective strategy can be devised to overcome them.

Institutional

These barriers arise when the proposed policy conflicts with the current operation of established social and political institutions. A call for interagency coordination might create difficulties in blending the existing policies and operations across health, social services, and educational agencies. If a lead agency is identified to carry out the policy, is that agency given sufficient authority and resources?

Psychological

A proposed policy can come into conflict with deeply held personal beliefs of clients, professionals, or leaders who must implement the policy. Perhaps some persons resent the fact that they were not consulted before the policy was established. Any time someone loses authority or status, there can be personal resistance.

Sociological

Sometimes the new policy runs afoul of established mores or cultural values of subgroups within the society. For example, it may be traditional in some cultural subgroups for family members to show deference to those in authority (e.g., physicians or agency heads). The notion of family empowerment might be a difficult one for them to entertain.

Economic

Often, the promise of resources to carry out a program is not fulfilled, not because of deviousness, but because of the multitude of issues to be met and the limited financial resources at the state or federal level.

Political

Some programs become identified with one or the other political party, and such programs become hostage when the opposing political party comes into power. There is a periodic overturn of political leaders through retirement or elections—changes that can cause disjunction in the support or understanding of the program on the part of political leaders.

Geographic

The delivery of services to rural and inner-city areas has long plagued those who have tried to provide comprehensive health and social services. Personnel resources tend to remain in large- or middle-sized urban areas, causing substantial difficulties in covering outlying areas.

Figure 1. Barriers to policy implementation.
Adapted from: Haskins, R., & Gallagher, J. (1981).
Models for analysis of social policy: An introduction (pp. 68-74). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Institutional Barriers

Institutional barriers include the separate structures that have already been established to carry out special programs to meet the diverse responsibilities of Head Start, child care, public schools, and early intervention, and which now exist apart from each other (Fullan, 1993). It is a challenge to blend these separate structures. None of these separate elements of early childhood services has a comprehensive structure, but each has some elements of a total structure in place. There are, in addition, separate professional organizations tied to various governmental agencies, often in separate departments of government. Each may be tied, in turn, to some part of the system of higher education.

Psychological Barriers

Psychological barriers can hinder policy development or change. These barriers are unique to a particular individual and can hardly ever be predicted. However, some policy change can run counter to the interests of a senior administrator who has been accustomed to doing things in a particular fashion for years, if not decades. Regardless of the merits of new ideas, some resistance to change can be expected.

Similarly, if we have an agency head who thinks that the changes are going to eclipse her own influence in the professional domains of her state, some considerable time and effort may be needed to try to mollify or reduce the anxiety of individuals who see the change as affecting them personally in a negative fashion.

Sociological Barriers

Sociological barriers can be some of the most frustrating to all concerned. The diversity of American society means that there are many subgroups that may not completely share the mainstream idea of the American dream and can certainly have child-rearing ideas that differ from the mainstream. When these child-rearing differences are complicated by the presence of a child with disabilities, the opportunity for misunderstandings and different views are many. Even if there is solid mainstream support for some policies, they can run counter to the values of a particular subgroup and create substantial resistance to a new policy initiative (Harry, 1992).

While it is possible to establish policies through majority rule, there may be in the community a substantial and active minority group, whose members resent the fact that their interests have been overridden. They can, at the local level, twist and bend the general policies to fit their own group's needs. Cultural barriers constitute one reason why the same policy appears to be implemented differently in different communities.

Economic Barriers

Many of the economic barriers to policy implementation are obvious. Early childhood personnel are being paid at a scandalously low level relative to the responsibilities that they carry. The American public is not yet sure whether they should assume financial responsibility for preschool children, as they have for older children in public schools. Every suggestion for change carries with it a price tag that the general public or

its representatives have to assume if this change is to be accomplished. While the public has been willing to invest in programs for children with special needs or problems, most policy makers have resisted support for universal programs for early childhood.

A recent report has identified over $7 billion in state and federal money being spent on child care and early education services (Mitchell, Stoney, & Dichter, 1997). That amount is surely increasing every year, but it is still far short of the needs of the target population of children. A recent National Academy of Sciences report estimates that we spend one-quarter the amount on children birth to 5, on average, as we spend on children 6 to17, on average (Ladd & Hansen, 1999). A variety of sales taxes, property taxes, state income taxes, tax credits, and state lotteries are being used to generate additional income at the state level. Increases in federal programs such as Head Start and programs that serve young children with disabilities add to the available funds.

Political Barriers

Political barriers can appear when early childhood programs become too closely associated with a particular political leader who retires, or whose political party loses an election, so that the opposition party downgrades the program when it comes into political power. There are definitive time constraints in the political arena marked by elections, legislative calendars, and retirement, for example, so that meaningful steps toward change have to be taken at particular points in time. The politics of change also mean that a continued program of education for decision makers has to be conducted to orient the new entrants to the political scene to the issues at stake. As long as many members of the public see early care and education as a service to parents rather than as developmental enhancement for the child, they will be unlikely to pick up the cost of comprehensive programs.

The positive role that can be played by the media to enhance interest in early childhood is illustrated by such efforts as the "I Am Your Child" campaign, led by actor and producer Rob Reiner, and the recent efforts to disseminate brain research, which was well covered by the national press. Since many public decision makers get their information about early childhood through the media, attempts like those noted above appear to have made a positive difference in how the building of an early childhood infrastructure has been perceived.

Geographic Barriers

The geographic barriers to policy implementation have remained relatively constant over many decades. The delivery of services to children with special needs has been hindered by the logistics of distance or accessibility. Distance can keep the professionals who work in rural areas from coming into easy contact with each other and so limits the collaborative work that might otherwise be organized for the benefit of the child with special needs. But distance is not the only dimension to the barrier. Many professionals are less likely to wish to work in a rural area or in the "inner city," and the areas themselves are often poor, limiting the amount of specialized help that can be made available. Even in the relatively well-supported areas of serving young children with special needs, a half-century has gone by without a solution to the problem of providing sufficient services to rural areas or inner-city areas. Geographical barriers remain a persistent problem (Kirk, Gallagher, & Anastasiow, 2000).

Power of the Status Quo

There has not been much written about the status quo as a force, but it obviously is one of the more

significant barriers in policy initiation or change. In any people-serving operation (e.g., health, education, and social work), there are a number of professionals who have become used to carrying out their jobs in certain ways. To ask the pediatrician to give up the use of her standard blood pressure equipment, or the psychologist to give up his intelligence tests, or to ask the teacher to "team teach" with another is asking a lot, even if the changes might be clearly beneficial to those being served.

Changing to new procedures always takes more psychic and physical energy than maintaining the status quo, and that fact alone can cause a lack of enthusiasm for new policy (Fullan, 1993). Resistance to new methods and procedures is routine, and there has to be a very powerful reason for changes to be instituted in order for people to overcome that resistance. Psychological inertia can be as powerful as physical inertia.

In order for change to take place, we must also overcome inertia in the form of a quasi-stationary equilibrium that is the main impediment to change (Schein, 1996). Fortunately, such a change in equilibrium seems to be upon us. Weick and Quinn (1999) point out that "to understand organizational change one must first understand organizational inertia, its content, its tenacity, its interdependencies" (p. 382). They separate *episodic change* from *continuous change* and believe that there has to be a serious lack of equilibrium to justify and sustain episodic change. Such a lack of equilibrium would seem to be that the majority of mothers with children under 5 years are in the workforce and families require some type of high-quality child care.

Resistance to change and the maintenance of equilibrium is heightened by what has been referred to as *deep structure* (Gersick, 1991). Deep structure refers to a series of choices made and procedures adopted while establishing a system. A set of basic activity patterns has evolved to maintain the system's existence. Together, the patterns make up what might be called "the rules of the game." Having made these choices over time in such a structure as the child care system, for example, one would be extremely loathe to leave them for some alternative path of action, hence the equilibrium-maintaining nature of the deep structure.

One reason that is often given for change is that the old ways or processes have never proven their usefulness and that the newer approaches are more effective and efficient. The new ways will improve our performance and make us seem modern and up to date in our professional work (Zigler, Kagan, & Hall, 1996). This side of the argument is the "carrot side." The "stick" side of the argument is that you may not be allowed to continue the status quo in any event. Your very job, or professional role, can be considered outdated and could be threatened with replacement. At the very least, if you don't change, the funds that you have counted on may disappear. Some combination of the "carrot and stick" approach may be necessary to convince people who are being asked to change to accede to these requests.

It should be clear that change in early care and education policy will require a change in attitude on the part of the public who must pay the bill. This barrier is not a reason for rejecting this systems-building option but rather a reason for a call for a comprehensive campaign to highlight the long-range benefits of such a system (e.g., fewer referrals to special education, fewer grade retentions).

What Next?

Each of these infrastructure elements is in place somewhere. There are research centers and regional education laboratories already established; major technical assistance systems are present in Head Start and in programs for children with disabilities (NEC*TAS). On-site personnel preparation is being handled through a variety of groups such as state agencies, resource and referral agencies, and community colleges. There are communication efforts through a variety of national clearinghouses. Long-range planning efforts have begun in many states. We now are faced with reorganizing these efforts in the interests of maximum payoff for young children and families. The virtues of all of these support system components have been

recognized. What we need now is sufficient numbers of these efforts at the state level to ensure some payoff at the local or center level.

With all these barriers and problems, it seems wondrous that some planned change takes place at all. It is clear that we can no longer accept the rationale that "It just make sense to change." It might make sense in terms of some logical argument, but we have to remember that we are dealing with "self-interest," one of the most powerful of human motives. If the new policy offends the values of individuals or communities, or just threatens the status quo, then the proponents of change are likely to have a fight on their hands.

Another point made by those who study the process of change is that there are various stages that must be traversed in order for change to take place. Prochaska, DiClemente, and Norcross (1992) describe four stages—*precontemplation, contemplation, action,* and *maintenance*—and have noted that many persons flow from one stage to another. Even when persons reach the *action* stage, they often relapse and change back to previous habits three or four times before they maintain the newer sequence. So there is a spiral pattern of contemplation, action, and relapse before reaching the maintenance stage.

Policies for Building Infrastructures

There has been enough sad experience to suggest that the laissez-faire approach as a means to cope with implementation barriers does not work. The opposition will not go away, nor are they likely to "see the light" without some definitive action being taken. One interesting exercise would be to pretend that one was starting from scratch in building an educational infrastructure instead of trying to paste together already existing entities with their own histories and mandates to be considered. Under such circumstances, it would be relatively easy to assign authority for different roles in the system with personnel preparation assigned in one direction, demonstration in another, and the responsibility for communication assigned to a third.

But existing agencies are likely to have components of all of these roles already active within their organizations because the absence of an overarching infrastructure has caused them to fill in the gaps themselves. For example, a large number of agencies dealing with early childhood (e.g., Head Start, programs that deal with child care or children with disabilities, and Title 1 for young disadvantaged students) all have personnel preparation activities because of the universally recognized importance of high-quality and well-prepared staff. Now the task is to see how all of these efforts can be synthesized or coordinated to a central purpose for the benefit of young children and their families.

If we accept the importance of the support infrastructure and the powerful barriers standing in the way of change, then our task is to design a public campaign that would encourage states to consider such an infrastructure. The many different contexts and forces at work in different states make it impossible to provide a simple recipe for such actions, but there would seem to be some general strategies that should be considered.

Identify and Cultivate Power Sources

We need to identify and cultivate various powerful political sources in the states that could be supporters of the infrastructure concept. Such a power source could be a governor, or a key state legislator, but it could also include professional organizations and business leaders who are convinced of the importance of high-quality early care and education. As noted earlier, it would be desirable to have bipartisan political support to prevent the early childhood effort from becoming a political football or a pawn in the inevitable

conflict between the two major political parties. An early declaration of the intent to be bipartisan could be helpful in keeping the hostility or anxiety in check.

Establish Planning Structures

While many states have found it useful to organize interagency or multidisciplinary planning groups, few of these groups have been given a mandate that would allow them to pursue the support system infrastructure concept. Some form of such a mandate needs to be given by one or another of the power sources. Once given such authority, this planning group, representing the various stakeholders in the early childhood field (including parents), could prepare a multiyear development plan as the basis for a policy initiative for creating a support infrastructure.

An example of such a technical planning group comes from the National Education Goals Panel (http://www.negp.gov/) (1997), which addressed the subject of what would be necessary for each child to be able to enter kindergarten "ready to learn," the first of the National Education Goals. The panel believed that attention should be applied to five major developmental domains: *physical well-being and motor development, social and emotional development, approaches toward learning, language usage,* and *cognition and general knowledge*. The panel recognized the importance of a proactive strategy to enhance performance in all of these domains:

> Attention is needed in both policy and practice in order to recognize that preparing children for school means helping them become healthy, adjusted, curious and expressive, as well as knowledgeable. . . . The best way to reach high standards may be to attend to children's general well-being and then provide learning environments and experiences rich in opportunities to explore, rather than to provide earlier formal academic instruction. (National Education Goals Panel, 1997, p. 35)

In order to promote all five of these dimensions, the panel recognized the importance of coordinating human service delivery among health, education, and other social service agencies at the local, state, and federal levels. As the panel noted, "It is not simply the development of new policies that must be accorded attention; it is the development of *new structures* and new public will" (p. 34).

Mount a Media Initiative

The general public has a poorly developed understanding of the infrastructure concept, and there needs to be a long-range media campaign mounted by a variety of individuals and organizations committed to this idea. Research documenting the impact of infrastructure on outcomes in young children is needed. Reports of exemplary program efforts in support systems and clear examples of how the system would work are also required.

In a more targeted fashion, the media effort should also focus on decision makers who would be responsible for creating and implementing the system, because many decision makers may have an incomplete appreciation of the value of a support system for early childhood. They probably already are aware of the costs of such components and need to see the advantages more clearly.

Involve Professional Organizations

A potentially powerful but little used resource are the state professional organizations, some of whom may be adjuncts to national organizations such as the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC), Council for Exceptional Children (CEC), National Education Association (NEA), and American Federation of Teachers (AFT). These organizations can provide continuity for the planning effort. They have often been used only to

convene professionals from their own discipline, but a major effort to win such organizations over early could generate a purpose and direction for the state organization agenda that they often lack.

The recent president of NAEYC (Clifford, 1997) has urged his organization to move on these issues:

> NAEYC has an obligation to deal with these issues. As the largest organization representing early childhood professionals, we must face up to the issues which directly affect our current and future membership. We must develop new capacities to address the public policy issues. We must craft effective means to provide assistance to affiliates—particularly those at the state level—as key decisions are devolved to state and local authorities, to enable them to effectively advocate for quality services and equitable and forward thinking decisions affecting early childhood professionals. (Clifford, 1997)

Be Realistic about Time

Given all that would have to be done, any expectation for a quick and glorious victory for our efforts would have to be muted. It is more realistic to think in 5-year blocks of time during which a series of activities would be taking place to build the necessary groundwork.

Financing the Infrastructure

The establishment of these support system components is much more economical than the "across-the-board" increases in service delivery strategies (e.g., raising teacher salaries) or extending services and should be attractive to policy makers.

As the complexity of our social and economic enterprises becomes more evident, the need to develop system-type answers will hopefully become more acceptable. The 21st century is likely to be filled with structures designed to cope with the multiple interactions of various social forces or influences. The most creative act of the professional and the professional community may be to design structures, such as these support systems, that will help our complex society work more effectively to provide needed services for young children and their families and to use our understanding of the change process to see the system implemented.

Earmarking

One of the financial strategies used by other programs to insure that certain things happen is to earmark certain funds to make sure that a particular proportion of resources will go to that interest. Head Start funds have been earmarked in the sense that 10% or more of the students are mandated to be children with disabilities. Another example is the Child Care and Development block grant where 4% of the funds are set aside for "quality expenditures" (Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, PL 104-193).

It is necessary to earmark such funds for the infrastructure because when funds become tight, the direct service money is politically protected, while the cuts are often made in the less politically sensitive infrastructure areas such as personnel preparation or research. Over time, this cutting results in a shrinking proportion of funds devoted to infrastructure. The earmarking in this case could be a sum of money that becomes a percentage of the total allocations. How these sums are allocated among the various components can be decided in individual states with help by an advisory committee in the state government that would be guided by the comprehensive state plan.

Kagan and Cohen (1997) have addressed the issue of infrastructure in one of their recommendations in *Not by Chance*. They state, "Ten percent of all public early care and education funds will be invested directly in the infrastructure" (p. 35). They continue:

> As public investments in early care and education increase, a larger percentage of government funding—we estimate at least 10 percent—needs to be invested directly into building and maintaining the infrastructure, including support for resource and referral agencies; parent information and engagement; data collection, planning, governance, and evaluation; practitioner professional development and licensing, enforcement, and improvement; program accreditation; and other quality improvement activities. (p. 36)

Subsidies

We already have many examples of governmental subsidies that the public willingly pays for, expenditures that are in the public interest. Transportation is a major example. Mass transit cannot pay for itself from the fares charged to individual passengers. Public subsidies are required to bring the fares to a reasonable level. We can look at child care and early education similarly. Parents should pay fees, but these fees should be at an affordable level. This subsidy would help us cope with Morgan's trilemma of early childhood care: low teacher salaries, low educational preparation of personnel, and high parental cost (Morgan, 1996).

These subsidies would represent a major increment in what we are spending on children. Establishing such subsidies will require strong and persistent political and professional leadership. It may help to point out that we now spend $6 to $7 on the elderly for every dollar we spend on young people.

Wishing Will Not Make It So

There is no linear, straight-line path from where we are now to where we want to go in terms of building a viable support system or infrastructure for early childhood. One of the advantages of these ideas for a comprehensive support system is that many stakeholders can see how such a support system will benefit their programs, if such a system is established in the right fashion. Nevertheless, the barriers that are predictably in the way of the development or coordination of such a system, plus the power of the status quo, guarantee that a long and sustained effort will be needed to bring about an infrastructure for early childhood education.

One thing is certain—infrastructures such as those described here do not happen by accident. They have to be constructed. We cannot substitute wishful thinking for action. If the infrastructure for young children eventually emerges, it will be because of concerted and prolonged effort by many persons who believe in this concept.

We have reported on a variety of initiatives being taken that will help build the infrastructure described here. These initiatives represent desirable steps on a long journey to a comprehensive service system for young children and their families.

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Home-Community Visits during an Era of Reform (1870–1920)

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Abstract

This article documents home and community visits by early childhood pioneers during the Reform Era (1870–1920). The home-community visitors promoted the development of young children by addressing the needs of poor and vulnerable children, their families, and their communities. As the rationale for focusing on the Reform Era, this article identifies four parallels between the societal conditions influencing home-community visits during the Reform Era and the societal conditions present today: (1) efforts to eradicate poverty by changing environmental conditions, (2) massive arrival of immigrants, (3) rapid transformation of society, and (4) promotion of volunteerism. This study identifies the charity kindergarten movement, establishment of settlement houses, and promotion of compulsory education as the three major social justice movements during the Reform Era that contributed significantly to home-community visits. The objectives, procedures, and outcomes of home-community visits during each of the three social justice movements are identified and elaborated. Home-community visits by philanthropic kindergarten teachers resulted in (1) parents valuing play, (2) appropriate transformation of child-rearing practices and neighborhoods, (3) families receiving welfare services, (4) parents becoming local advocates and leaders, and (5) kindergarten becoming a part of public schools. Home-community visits by residents from settlement houses resulted in (1) reforming child labor practices and legislating compulsory education, (2) legislating housing reform and standards on public conveniences, and (3) introducing and promoting safe playgrounds. Home-community visits by visiting teachers from public schools resulted in prevention and amelioration of academic failure. The article concludes with 10 lessons contemporary educators can learn from historical home-community visits.

A home visitor takes a shortcut over the roofs of the tenements.
(Photo courtesy of the Visiting Nurse Service of New York.)

Introduction

In the past half decade, there has been increased interest in home visits as a system of delivering services to children and families. In 1993, it was estimated that 200,000 children were enrolled in home visitation programs, but by 1999, the estimate had risen to 550,000 (Gomby, Culross, & Behrman, 1999). These model programs include Hawaii's Healthy Start, Healthy Families America, the Nurse Home Visitation Program, Parents as Teachers, the Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters, and the Comprehensive Child Development Program. Many of these programs have been replicated nationally. In addition, the Federal Office of Juvenile Delinquency Prevention, the Maternal and Child Health Bureau, Early Head Start, Title I, Temporary Assistance to Needy Families, state Children's Trust Funds, and many private foundations are investing millions of dollars in home visitation programs (Gomby, Culross, & Behrman, 1999).

Furthermore, a number of experts and national panels such as the American Academy of Pediatrics, the National Commission to Prevent Infant Mortality, the National Governors' Association, and the Expert Panel on the Content of Prenatal Care have examined or proposed home visits as a method of delivering supportive and preventive services. The U.S. Advisory Board on Child Abuse and Neglect has recommended that the federal government implement a universal voluntary neonatal home visiting program (Krugman, 1993).

Home visits are a unique service-provision strategy because they bring the services directly to hard-to-reach families who may be isolated geographically, socially, and psychologically—thereby overcoming these barriers for people who cannot attend center-based programs because of a lack of transportation and child care (Weiss, 1993). Another unique feature of home visits is that the visitor's

willingness to enter a family's home and neighborhood signals a less formal, more relaxed relationship between visitor and parent, thereby equalizing the balance of power between the two (Weiss, 1993).

This idea of bringing services to families in a friendly manner is not a recent social invention. Historically, educators, along with other professionals such as doctors, nurses, and social workers, have used home-community visits as an effective tool to provide support and services to children. The visits discussed in this article are limited to those conducted by early childhood educators who sometimes also happened to be nurses and social workers.

Typically in the past, when early childhood professionals visited the homes of children, they also visited the entire neighborhood as well. They actively promoted community development of those neighborhoods because the condition of the neighborhoods affected the well-being of the children. Additionally, historical primary sources described the home-community visit as an integrated concept. Thus, home and community visits are conceptualized in this article as a unified strategy used by early childhood pioneers to address the needs of the children, their families, and their communities in order to promote the total development of young children.

Visitors became familiar with neighborhoods such as the one shown in this photograph. (Reproduced with permission: Jane Addams Memorial Collection, JAMC negative 296, Special Collections, University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago.)

Rationale for Focusing on the Reform Era: Sociohistorical Parallels between Then and Now

This article focuses on home and community visitors who promoted early childhood education and

development during the "Reform Era"—sometimes also called the "social justice movement" (Levine & Levine, 1992). According to Shapiro (1983), this period extended approximately from the beginning of the "Free Kindergarten Crusade" to the end of the "Progressive Era." As our rationale for focusing exclusively on the Reform Era (i.e., 1870–1920), we have identified four parallels between the societal conditions influencing home-community visits a century ago and the societal conditions in contemporary times: (1) efforts to eradicate poverty by changing environmental conditions, (2) massive arrival of immigrants, (3) rapid transformation of society, and (4) promotion of volunteerism.

Eradication of Poverty by Changing Environmental Conditions

During the Reform Era, many people assumed that the environment, rather than an individual's weaknesses of character, body, or intellect, was the cause of vice, crime, and moral degeneration (Handlin, 1982; Holbrook, 1983; Bremner, 1956). Therefore, many believed that poverty could be checked by positively transforming the crowded urban environment (e.g., providing adequate health care, housing, parks, playgrounds, support services, and public welfare) (Boyer, 1978). Because those espousing this enlightened view believed in progress, the period of reform from 1890 to 1920, according to Mattson (1998), and from 1904 to 1920 according to Shapiro (1983), is also called the Progressive Era, a time period that is covered in this article. Child advocates today also have this enlightened view—that the United States needs to improve the status of its children by actively changing present environmental conditions, including crime and violence in the inner cities (Children's Defense Fund, 1999).

Like children living in poverty during the Reform Era, children living in poverty today are precariously housed, suffer from impaired health, and have higher rates of school failure, dropping out of school, and delinquency than children from wealthy families. Their parents, like parents during the Reform Era, are likely to have limited education, and they may lack the knowledge necessary to promote health and positive developmental outcomes in their children (National Center for Children in Poverty, 1990). The specific details of "welfare reform" during the Reform Era and today may not be the same; however, the overall rationale for reform claimed by many is similar; namely, to better serve the poor. Trattner (1992) states that "conditions in today's inner cities are similar to those in our nineteenth-century ghettos and slums—and that current attacks on the poor and the programs established to help them echo many of the sentiments expressed in the earlier dialogue" (p. xii). Thus, today—as was the case from 1870 to 1920—poverty and welfare are a source of intense debate and controversy about the role of communities, government, law, philanthropy, the economy, individual responsibility, and personal morality.

Massive Arrival of Immigrants

From 1900 to 1910, 8.9 million immigrants entered the United States. Similarly, from 1980 to 1990, there were 9.5 million immigrants to this country (Fix & Zimmermann, 1993). Hunt (1976) reports that between 1890 and 1920, about 18 million people entered the United States from central and eastern Europe. "The United States Immigration Commission reported that in 1909, 57.8 percent of the children in the schools of the nation's thirty-seven largest cities were of foreign-born parentage. In New York City the percentage was 71.5, in Chicago 67.3, and in San Francisco it was 57.8" (Weiss, 1982, p. xiii). The teachers in New York reported that the arrival of every steamer swelled their classes because the immigrants "landed on Saturday, settled on Sunday and reported to school on Monday" (Berrol, 1991, p. 28). The immigrant children who arrived in public schools were ethnically diverse (Handlin, 1982; Riis, 1970); many schools in New York City had at least 54 nationalities (Hunt, 1976).

Home visitors encountered congested immigrant neighborhoods during home-community visits. (Note the signs referring to public baths and the pushcarts on the street.)

Prior to the massive immigration a century ago, public schools were inefficient, corrupt, thoroughly politicized, and generally inadequate (Berrol, 1991). Immigration helped reform schools in New York and expanded the school system to include kindergartens, high schools, vacation schools, social service programs, and curriculum changes. The schools' role was to provide a common experience for these immigrant children from diverse backgrounds so that they could all become responsible citizens able to take part in a democracy. Dewey (1915, 1916), for example, vociferously argued that progressive education, when universally provided to all American children, was a foundation for learning how to participate in a democracy. The reformers and public school educators in those days were more focused on homogenizing various ethnic immigrants by promoting "universalism," democratization, and Americanization of citizenry through compulsory schooling than they were on strengthening individual ethnic identity through "celebrating diversity" and "cultural pluralism."

If current trends in population increases among African Americans and Hispanics continue, by the year 2020, the "minorities" among school-age children will be the majority in U.S. schools (Berliner & Biddle, 1995). The U.S. Bureau of the Census (1997) reported that the numbers of immigrant and minority children were once again increasing in American schools. As before, the public and the schools are reacting ambivalently to this new wave of immigrants (e.g., sometimes adding and at other times deleting bilingual education; providing English-as-a-second-language programs, multicultural education, and education for pluralism and democracy; while at the same time, introducing the English Only Movement and California's Proposition 227). Additionally, as before, in order to be responsive to immigrants, schools are undergoing major reforms and are attempting to be more efficient.

Rapid Transformation of Society

During the Reform Era, American society was rapidly undergoing transformation from a rural agrarian society into an urban industrial society; today, American society is transforming itself from an industrial

society into an information society. As a result of industrialization and urbanization during the Reform Era, a literate, skilled labor force was needed, as well as adequate child care arrangements for lower-class working women. Similarly, today, we need a computer-literate, technologically sophisticated labor force and high-quality child care arrangements for working women.

Promotion of Volunteerism

The Reform Era was also a new epoch in active volunteerism, which was then called "scientific philanthropy" (Bremner, 1988) or "scientific charity" (Katz, 1996). Accordingly, "'friendly visiting' of the poor in their homes by volunteers . . . was the core—or better, the heart—of charity organization" (Bremner, 1988, p. 95). According to Watson (1922), volunteerism had four advantages: (1) it supplemented professional services, (2) it communicated enthusiasm, (3) it provided additional community contacts, and (4) it educated the volunteers about the lives of the poor and the causes of poverty. Volunteerism is strongly advocated, even today, to reach out to children and families. For example, the Republican majority of the U.S. Congress, former President Bush's "Thousand Points of Light" program, and President Clinton's initiative under the leadership of Colin Powell have all advocated volunteerism to promote the well-being of children, families, and communities.

Social Justice Movements

We believe that the kindergarten movement, the establishment of settlement houses, and the promotion of compulsory public education are the three major social justice movements that contributed significantly to the evolution of home-community visits from 1870 to 1920. The teachers who worked for philanthropic kindergartens, residents who worked for settlement houses, and visiting teachers who worked for public schools all had an overarching, common agenda—to promote the well-being of children, families, and communities through home-community visits. Their strategies for providing dedicated services and child advocacy through home-community visits are instructive and relevant for early childhood educators today. Therefore, we have identified the purposes, procedures, and outcomes of these home-community visits in each of these social justice movements (see Table 1, Table 2, and Table 3).

Kindergarten Movement's Contribution to Home-Community Visits

The charity kindergarten movement, often called the "Kindergarten Crusade," came about because of the commitment of young idealistic women from comfortable circumstances who worked with missionary zeal to spread the philosophy and practices of Froebel. These kindergarten pioneers included philanthropists, university presidents, and kindergarten teachers. Their mission was to "save the children" from the vice, intemperance, sloth, misery, and hopelessness that their parents were confronting in the slums (Ross, 1976). They believed that the Froebelian approach would unfold the potential of these young and malleable children, who would then grow up to be upstanding adults who would fully participate in the democracy of the nation (Snyder, 1972). "The more kindergartens the fewer prisons" (Riis, 1970, p. 181) was a common saying in those days. The kindergarten movement was successful mainly because the dedicated "kindergartners" (i.e., teachers) won the respect, cooperation, and confidence of the community (Ross, 1976) by visiting the students' families and their neighborhoods in the afternoons (Shapiro, 1983; Vandewalker, 1908).

Purposes of Home-Community Visits

The first and primary purpose of the home visits was to educate parents regarding innovative kindergarten education. Unlike most of today's parents, parents during the Reform Era knew nothing about kindergarten philosophy and practice because they had not personally experienced a kindergarten education when they were children. The Froebelian gifts and occupations (e.g., songs and games) as educational methods and materials were alien to these parents (Brosterman, 1997) because the traditional teachers they knew believed only in "rote and recite" and would not consider participation in play as educationally sound.

The second purpose of home visits was to know the children as individuals by intimately knowing the families and the neighborhoods in which they were raised. The third purpose was to facilitate the "Americanization" of the children and their families, which meant helping the new families adjust and accept the way of life and values of their adopted country (Hewes, 1985). The fourth purpose of the home-community visits was to teach parents about nutrition, hygiene, alternative methods of discipline, and child development. The fifth purpose was to utilize the community's businesses, services, and resources to optimize children's development and promote kindergartens.

Procedures of Home-Community Visits

First, home visitors of the kindergarten movement conducted relatively frequent home-community visits in a skillful manner in order to build a supportive relationship between visitors and parents. Hewes (1985) reports that these teachers appear to have been widely accepted by the parents into their homes. Ross (1976) further explains that it was the high frequency of their home visits that contributed to the acceptance of teachers, which paved the way for acceptance of their ideas—including the idea that play was developmentally appropriate.

This photograph shows the interior of a home that a visitor would have encountered. (Reproduced with permission: Jane Addams Memorial Collection, JAMC negative 1002, Special Collections, University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago.)

Not only were the teachers and their ideas merely accepted, but according to Kate Douglas Wiggin (1923),

they were actually welcomed because of their rapport-building skills. Wiggin (1923) articulates how she used multiple strategies (e.g., flexibility, respect, sensitivity, and empathic identification) as she built relationships during home-community visits:

> I never entered any house where I felt the least sensation of being out of place. I don't think this flexibility is a gift of especially high order, nor that it would be equally valuable in all walks of life, but it is of great service in this sort of work. Whether I sat in a stuffed chair or on a nail keg or an inverted washtub, it was always equally agreeable to me. The "getting into relation" perfectly, and without the loss of a moment, gave me a sense of mental and spiritual exhilaration. I never had to adapt myself elaborately to a strange situation in order to be in sympathy. My one idea was to keep the situation simple and free from embarrassment to any one; to be as completely a part of it as if I had been born there; to be helpful without being intrusive; to show no surprise whatever happened; above all, to be cheerful, strong, and bracing, not weakly sentimental. (pp. 112-113)

As a result, Wiggin was so highly respected that she was heralded in the streets. The following quotation suggests that at the termination of home visits, confidences were informally shared as part of the procedure. Wiggin (1893) writes:

> Some years ago a San Francisco kindergartner was threading her way through a dirty alley, making friendly visits to the children of her flock. As she lingered on a certain door-step, receiving the last confidences of some weary woman's heart, she heard a loud but not unfriendly voice ringing from an upper window of a tenement-house just round the corner. "Clear things from underfoot!" peeled the voice, in stentorian accents. "The teacher o' the *Kids' Guards* is commin' down the street!" (pp. 3-4)

This photograph shows an interior of a home that a visitor would have encountered.

Second, during home visits, the kindergarten teachers introduced the Froebelian gifts and occupations as teaching and entertaining methods for the whole family (Ross, 1976). According to Ross, they also promoted Froebelian play methods during their home visits, for she reported that a teacher in "the Elm City Free Kindergartens allowed children to take home their toys, such as books, puzzles, bicycles, and sleds, on a rotating basis. Teachers noted in their home visits that these toys brought pleasure to all members of the

family, and although everyone played with them, they were rarely returned broken" (p. 42).

Third, during these visits, the teachers eventually expanded the discussion beyond Froebelian education to include the effective methods of child rearing and topics relating to the child's total development. According to Shapiro (1983):

> At first the home visits were aimed solely at explaining the morning exercises and programs of the child—the meaning and usefulness of the complicated gifts, occupations, songs, and games. Gradually the kindergarten teacher broadened the discussions to include topics in child care, health and nutrition. Free-kindergarten visitors also took great pains in explaining the advantages of patience and understanding in child management, since most reformers subscribed to the assumption of wide-spread use, and sometimes abuse, of physical punishment in slum families. (p. 101)

Outcomes of Home-Community Visits

The first and most obvious outcome of home-community visits was that the parents began to value play as an educational activity and not as frivolity, idleness, sloth, and a waste of time. According to Rollins (1893), one may didactically teach that "two plus two make four, but he [the child] did not become any better, nor did he seem much more intelligent" (p. 41). Rollins did not consider this type of teaching as education. Next, she described a playful clay modeling activity, which instead taught the child numerical concepts, because the child himself constructed multiple clay rabbits. The teacher then asked, "'How many rabbits are there now?' and he said instantly, 'four rabbits'" (p. 43). When Bond (1893) asked mothers how kindergarten had specifically influenced their children, they responded that play had the following worthwhile cognitive outcomes—first, "the habit of working or playing to a plan, the concentration of the mind upon one thing at a time, the habits of order" (p. 176); and second, "the ability to occupy themselves at home in kindergarten ways" (pp. 176-177).

The second outcome that parents reported was a transformation in their child-rearing practices. For example, Gilder (1903) reports that one parent stated, "I used to hit my Josie something awful, and now I don't" (p. 134). Gilder additionally says the following about another mother: "She said she could do nothing with her boy of three whom she was knocking about and shouting at in the mode of the neighborhood. Her home was dirty, pitiable. Under the influence of the kindergarten, and its teacher, she has become one of the most interested and devoted of mothers. She asks for suggestions, and reads the books from the kindergarten library" (p. 134).

A third outcome of the kindergarten teachers' home-community visits was the transformation of the neighborhood. Constance Mackenzie in 1886 (as cited in Vandewalker, 1908) described the following condition of a neighborhood, both pre- and post-intervention:

> The touch of the kindergarten upon the home had a humanizing effect which appeared nothing short of remarkable. One short street at that time, reputed to be among the worst in the city, was in some respects practically transformed by the home visits and the reflex influence of the kindergarten children. At the time when the kindergarten began its unobtrusive crusade in that neighborhood, to walk through the street meant to invite an assault upon four of the five senses, as well as upon one's sense of decency. The place and the people were filthy; the conversation was unfit to listen to; the odors were appalling. By and by, however, a change became noticeable. The newspapers apologetic substitutes for glass disappeared from many broken window-panes, and old cans, sweet with green things growing, took their places. Chairs were cleaned when "teacher" was announced, and by and by the rooms were kept brushed up to greet her unexpected coming. After a while the children's work, first discarded as trash began to assume an extrinsic value—the walls must be fresh to receive it. The children insisted upon clean clothes to be worn to kindergarten, and a general if dingy wash followed. . . . Lessons of cleanliness, thrift, and trust were learned through experience and communicated to the homes through the insistence of the children and the friendly home talks of the kindergartners. (pp. 61-62)

A fourth outcome of home-community visits was that the kindergarten teachers helped families by effectively using the community as a resource and contacting welfare services. Imagine Kate Douglas Wiggin, who started the Silver Street Kindergarten in "Tar Flats" (one of the worst slums in San

Francisco), lifting her long skirt and walking through garbage, cans, and bottles to regularly visit the mothers (Snyder, 1972). During visitations, she was bi-directional in her approach; that is, she offered herself as an informal resource, by being available, to make the local business community feel comfortable about her kindergarten, and she received services from the neighborhood businesses. She actively strategized this bi-directional process in the following manner:

> Buying and borrowing were my first two aids to fellowship. I bought my luncheon at a different bakery every day and my glass of milk at a different dairy. At each visit I talked, always casually, of the new kindergarten, and gave its date of opening, but never solicited pupils. I bought pencils, crayons, and mucilage of the local stationers; brown paper and soap of the grocers; hammers and tacks of the hardware man. I borrowed many things, returned them soon, and thus gave my neighbors the satisfaction of being helpful.
>
> To each craftsman in the vicinity I showed the particular branch of kindergarten handiwork that might appeal to him, whether laying of patterns in sticks and tablets, weaving, drawing, rudimentary efforts at designing, folding and cutting of paper, or clay modeling. (Wiggin, 1923, p. 112)

Thus Wiggin was one of those "dauntless women" who used tact, social skills, and perseverance to enter the lower-income tenements that were alien to her own upbringing. Even an enrollment of 50 children did not deter Wiggin from including the home visits in her curriculum.

Hill (1972) too described how the kindergarten teachers used the community as a resource. They spent their afternoons "eagerly seeking work for the unemployed parents, space in hospitals for ill mothers, sisters or brothers, searching for physicians who would remove adenoids and tonsils or dentists who would extract diseased teeth, free of charge. This was the most important contribution of the pioneer kindergartners, as at this period the kindergarten was frequently the only social agency offering a helping hand in the rapidly-increasing slums" (p. 75). It was no small task to enlist free, multiple services repeatedly.

The kindergarten teachers also used social service agencies, such as the Salvation Army and the Catholic Aide Society, as a resource to bolster their efforts on behalf of children's health and nutrition (Ross, 1976). According to Smith (1967), the kindergarten teacher "was a social worker in the truest meaning of the phrase" (p. 83); while Riis (1970) says, "In the truest and best sense she is a missionary to the poor" (p. 180). Gilder (1903) agrees that "home visitation, mothers' meetings, and social work are an integral part of the system. . . ." (p. 133).

A fifth outcome of the home visits was that the parent-teacher relationships built during successful home visits resulted in effective group meetings (Harrison, 1903), which in turn provided opportunities for parents to become local advocates and leaders (Shapiro, 1983). These educational group meetings also addressed common neighborhood problems (e.g., housing, shopping, child care and health, and community facilities) and later evolved into electing neighborhood residents to political offices.

Hewes (1985) reports that although this movement finally resulted in starting 75 philanthropic kindergarten associations, employing 6,000 teachers, and having burgeoning enrollments, the teachers did not waver from doing their home visits. She concluded that teachers continued with the home visits because they were convinced that visiting the homes served a vital purpose of helping families with their problems.

A final outcome of the home visits was the kindergarten teachers' success in making kindergartens available to all children through the public schools—not just the poor children through philanthropic schools. Regrettably, however, this expansion had a deleterious effect on home-community visits. Once the kindergarten programs became a part of the public schools, most of the teachers were required to have double sessions in order to have the same full-day teaching schedule as the other elementary teachers. As a result, as predicted by Mackenzie-Durham (1900) and Curtis (1900), they could not do home-community

visits. Palmer reports (as cited in Ross, 1976) that by 1912, over two-thirds of the almost 900 cities with public kindergartens had double sessions, resulting in the demise of home visits. This development highly perturbed the kindergarten teachers because they considered home visits to be an integral component of their professional responsibilities (Smith, 1967).

Settlement Houses Movement's Contribution to Home Visits

The social settlement reform movement originated in England in 1884. The first famous settlement house in the United States was Hull House on Halsted Street on the west side of Chicago, founded in 1889 (Addams, 1910; Davis, 1959). As part of this movement, the educated reformers from the upper class, who were called "residents" or "settlement workers," actually moved into working-class neighborhoods in the congested cities (Davis, 1959) where they actively promoted community development through regularly visiting homes and businesses.

Purpose of Home-Community Visits

The central purpose of settlement workers' visits to the homes and to the community was to improve the living conditions of the poor. Imagine these settlement workers regularly dealing with the following conditions: "Alleys, halls, and courts of multiple houses were regarded by tenants and public alike as extensions of the highway [street]. Doors into hallways, privies, and cellars went unlocked day and night and invited abominations and crime. Dark halls and stairways could not but be filthy and dangerous. Children risked their limbs on slimy and crowded sidewalks and roadways, because there was no alternative but stagnation in one or two stuffy rooms" (Woods & Kennedy, 1922, pp. 231-232).

Procedures of Home Visits

First, during home-community visits, the settlement workers promoted the well-being of all family members, especially frail children, by educating the family about the importance of health and sanitation. In 1888, the "baby death rate" was 88.38% in the tenement population of approximately one quarter million people (Riis, 1970). Lillian Wald (1915), the famous settlement worker at the House on Henry Street, reported that "there is a large measure of preventable ignorance, and in the efforts for the reduction of infant mortality the intelligent reaction of the tenement-house mother has been remarkably evidenced" (p. 55).

Visitors noted the less-than-optimal conditions for health and sanitation that directly affected children's well-being. As a result, children were given baths in settlement houses. (Note the immunization scab on the arm of the child on the right.)
(Reproduced with permission: Jane Addams Memorial Collection, JAMC negative 607, Special Collections, University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago.)

Spargo (1915) had a similar viewpoint:

> As in all human problems, ignorance plays an important role in this great problem of childhood's suffering and misery. . . . A child was given cabbage by its mother when it was three weeks old; another, seven weeks old, was fed for several days in succession on sausage and bread with pickles! Both died of gastritis, victims of ignorance. In another New York tenement home a baby less than nine weeks old was fed on sardines with vinegar and bread by its mother. Even more pathetic is the case of the baby, barely six weeks old, found by a district nurse in Boston in the family clothes-basket which formed its cradle, sucking a long strip of salt, greasy bacon and with a bottle containing beer by its side. (pp. 27-28)

Through the intervention of home visits, the settlement workers helped reduce infant mortality by promoting healthy early child care and education. The next example describes this process: "In 1911 New York City authorized the municipalization of fifteen milk stations, and so satisfactory was the result that the next year the appropriation permitted more than the trebling of this number. A nurse is attached to each station to follow into the homes and there lay the foundation, through education, for hygienic living. A marked reduction in infant mortality has been brought about and, moreover, a realization, on the part of the city, of the immeasurable social and economic value of keeping the babies alive" (Wald, 1915, pp. 56-57).

During home visits, the settlement workers provided support to families in medical crisis, which was an informal way of educating them about health. Woods and Kennedy (1922) reported that "they served as impromptu nurses in child birth, bound up cuts and bruises, dispensed simple remedies, gave aid and comfort pending arrival of doctor, supplied food, medicine and sick-room utensils, performed the housework of stricken mothers to keep the family together" (p. 247).

Visitors reached out to children with special needs.
(Reproduced with permission: Jane Addams Memorial Collection, JAMC negative 923, Special Collections, University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago.)

Second, during home-community visits, the settlement workers alleviated the effects of poverty by mobilizing the human resources to transform their own neighborhoods. For example, a number of settlements organized groups of children into juvenile brigades, patterned after the city departments, to assist in keeping the streets clean (Woods & Kennedy, 1922).

Third, during home-community visits, the settlement residents worked closely with tenants, landlords, and municipalities to provide public amenities such as incinerators, storage containers, toilets, and public baths. Woods and Kennedy (1922) described the following as the results of Hull House residents' actions: "The first civic venture of Neighborhood Guild was an Anti-Filth Society, organized to induce people to clear their rooms of bedbugs, lice, cockroaches, and rats; and Hull House installed, as a kind of supreme luxury, an incinerator for the destruction of garbage. . . . Tenements without running water, inside sanitary conveniences, or bins for storage of food and coal were the rule" (p. 231). "Many tenement apartments were without even a kitchen sink, and the necessity of carrying heavy pails from a distant hallway or yard potently discouraged refinements of cleanliness" (p. 237).

During home-community visits, the settlement residents observed adults and children, including those sick with serious infectious diseases, participating in many household economic activities, such as cracking nuts; pulling out basting; sewing; making cigarettes, paper bags, toys, laces, silk buttons, shoes, flowers, and boxes (Addams, 1910; Riis, 1970; Woods & Kennedy, 1922; Wald, 1915); and perhaps even rag-picking and cleaning. Seller (1977) states that "impoverished Germans in New York City became scavengers. Men, women, and children gathered discarded bones from slaughter houses and filthy rags from hospitals and gutters. . . . In their tenement apartments they boiled the rotting flesh off the bones, washed and dried the vile-smelling rags, bagged the products, and sold them to refuse dealers for a few cents a bag" (p. 77).

Settlement residents observed adults and children in household economic activities such as the sewing shown in this photograph.

The above narratives describe the interiors of the homes the settlement workers visited. During community visits, they observed the outside surroundings of these tenement homes. These settlement residents realized that in order to have clean streets, the tenement dwellers had to have amenities for storage, collection, and disposal of papers, ashes, and garbage, because it was customary to throw these items into the street. Therefore, "early residents had taken measures to induce or to compel owners of neighborhood tenements to drain cellars, repair privies and outhouses, and light dark hallways. Condemnation of a number of houses, so unfit for habitation that departments of health had no alternative but to order their destruction, was secured" (Woods & Kennedy, 1922, pp. 236-237). Thus, during home-community visits, the settlement residents advocated social responsibility among the community members.

Fourth, during home-community visits, the settlement residents developed "accurate and minute familiarity with the local pattern of streets, houses, and institutions, as well as sustained participation in many-sided associations and interests" (Woods & Kennedy, 1922, p. 59). Therefore, they directly interacted with people and participated in activities that were quite alien to them. They called this process "a new method of penetration" where the settlement residents "identify themselves so directly with their problem" such that they become an integral member of the community. Some residents moved out of the settlement houses and started living in the tenements along with the local population.

Additionally, using a household survey method with maps, the settlement residents did door-to-door home visits and block-to-block community visits to document overcrowding of the neighborhoods. Their approach was ethnographic because they (1) took into account the physical and social ecology when doing community visits, (2) did household surveys of the community, (3) made maps, (4) focused on social density, (5) participated in the community life of the local people, and (6) lived like one of the people. Thus, qualitative action research was a significant process during these home-community visits.

Outcomes of Home Visits

The first outcome of home-community visits was the reform in labor legislation that enhanced children's opportunity for education and reduced their exploitation. Addams (1910) wrote that "while we found many

pathetic cases of child labor and hard driven victims of the sweating system . . . it became evident that we must add carefully collected information to our general impression of neighborhood conditions if we would make it of any genuine value" (p. 200). Thus, systematic documentation of what they observed during their home-community visits provided the necessary accurate, authentic, and descriptive data to support their case for legislation prohibiting child labor. Additionally, they tirelessly campaigned to change social policies and advocated for labor legislation by visiting and lobbying the community groups. For example, speakers from Hull House addressed trade unions, benefit societies, church organizations, and social clubs in evenings for 3 months. As a result, the "residents of Hull house had included a child labor clause in the Illinois Factory Act of 1893, which forbade employment of children under fourteen years of age in manufacture, required an age certificate for all under sixteen, and limited the hours of women and children to eight" (Woods & Kennedy, 1922, p. 185). Similar child labor laws were crafted by many settlement workers in other states as well.

ABOLISH THE
SWEATING SYSTEM

MASS MEETING

FOR THE DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEM
WILL BE HELD ON

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, MARCH 8

BEGINNING AT 2 O'CLOCK, IN

CENTRAL MUSIC HALL

Under the auspices of the Residents of Hull House.
MISS ADDAMS will preside.

Good Speakers will address the meeting,
among others

JOHN FRANEY

Assistant Chief Factory Inspector of New
York State, who will explain

THE SULZER BILL

Now before Congress and intended to enforce Inter-
state Regulation of Tenement House Manufacture;

REV. THOMAS HALL & MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY

State Inspector of Factories.

COME AND LEARN WHY ILLINOIS CAN NO
LONGER TOLERATE SWEATSHOP TENEMENT
HOUSE MANUFACTURE.
WHY NEW YORK IS COMMITTED TO ITS
ABOLITION.

Visits resulted in campaigns against the "sweating system."
(Reproduced with permission: Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association records, HHA negative 33, Special Collections, University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago.)

These laws indirectly encouraged the children to attend the schools instead of working in "sweatshops." These sweatshops consisted of home income-generating activities, where the outside employers paid women and children by the piece, rather than by the hour. Because the wages were very low, many parents

had greater incentives to make children stay at home and work than to send them to school. Additionally, the children were needed to mind their infant siblings while parents worked (Riis, 1970). Many parents saw little connection between formal schooling and the children's present and future earning capacity (Berrol, 1991; Handlin, 1982). Thus, the impact of documenting the residents' visits had a profound effect on not only the children of those times, but also on future generations.

A second outcome of these visits was housing reform in New York City. The residents formed a consortium of settlement houses that lobbied legislatures and displayed several notable tenement house exhibits to bring about housing reform. Woods and Kennedy (1922) claimed that the settlement workers' testimony was credible and effective because they were eye witnesses and had gained personal experiences when they visited from "street to street and neighborhood to neighborhood" (p. 380). As a result, in order to provide adequate space, privacy, convenience, and good health for family members, standards were established for tenements regarding the size of the rooms, location and area of window spaces, and location of toilets and exits. Housing reform also resulted in a demand for public baths. One of the first of these public baths was built in Chicago on land controlled by Hull House. Over time, 50 settlements had constructed baths for public use.

OPENING OF

HULL-HOUSE
PLAY GROUND

Polk Street, Near Halsted

Saturday, May 1st, 1897,
AT 3 O'CLOCK, P. M.

"The air is warm, the skies are clear,
Birds and blossoms all are here,
Come old and young with spirits gay,
To welcome back the charming May."

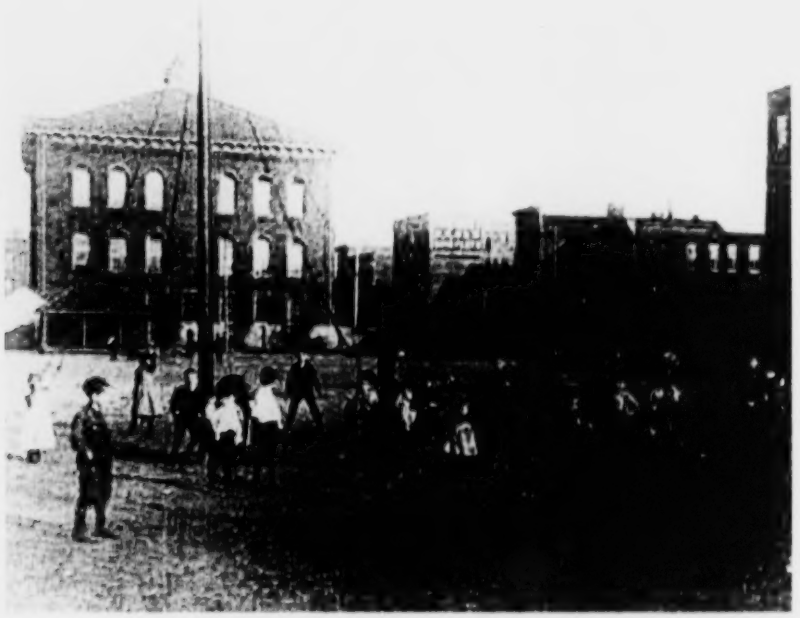
MUSIC BY THE BRASS BAND

...Kindergarten Games---May Pole Dance...

ALL KINDS OF RACES

Visitors from settlement houses promoted playgrounds. (Reproduced with permission: Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Hull House Association records, HHA negative 32, Special Collections, University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago.)

A third outcome of home-community visits was acceptance of play in safe and open outdoor spaces. During visits, the settlement workers observed that tenement children played on the crowded streets. "In the midst of the pushcart market, with its noise, confusion and jostling . . ." (p. 72), the children had to precariously perch their checkerboards on the tops of hydrants, knocked over by the crowds and patiently replaced by the children. Children were arrested for throwing a ball, especially on Sundays (Wald, 1915). The Henry Street settlement workers created a mini-playground in their backyard, which was so popular that children lined up at the gate and down the street to use it. Wald (1915) suggested that little girls with babies in their arms would have priority to enter, and as a result, many girls "borrowed" babies from tenement neighbors to go to the front of the line. The settlement workers also mobilized the construction of the first New York City municipal park, which was built by tearing down dilapidated tenement houses. Additionally, they persuaded the police to block streets from traffic for safe play.



Visitors created an acceptance of safe and open outdoor spaces for children (Reproduced with permission: Jane Addams Memorial Collection, JAMC negative 437, Special Collections, University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago.)

Compulsory Education Movement's Contribution to Home Visits

In 1906, Mary Marot, a Hartley House settlement worker, assumed the new title of "Visiting Teacher." Her role was to be a liaison between two neighborhood schools and the community. This job was created to respond to the changes brought about by compulsory attendance laws and to reach out to the large influx of immigrant families from southern and eastern Europe (Johnson, 1916; Oppenheimer, 1925; Wasik, Bryant, & Lyons, 1990). "Visiting Teachers," as a profession, thus originated as a part of a settlement house program activity.

Soon after, in January 1907, a visiting teacher committee was formed, and it was incorporated by an organization called the Public Education Association. This association employed Jane Day as a visiting

teacher, who then teamed up with Julia Richman, the first woman District School Superintendent of New York City, to make visiting teachers an integral component of the services offered by public education (Johnson, 1916; Oppenheimer, 1925).

Purpose of Home-Community Visits

The overall purpose of the visiting teachers' home-community visits was to promote compulsory education for children in public schools and to provide support services for their academic achievement. Oppenheimer (1925) identified the following specific reasons for the development of the visiting teacher as a new field:

> (1) social conditions and educational requirements demand close relationships between the home and the school; (2) the increase in the amount of work and in types of activity that teachers must perform curtails their opportunities of knowing the outside life of their pupils; (3) the present emphasis upon taking into account individual differences and promoting the growth of every child requires some means of knowing and shaping the out-of-school life of the child; (4) the development of modern psychology and social case work provides methods of diagnosis and treatment which are applicable to problems of maladjustment; and (5) the school as the agent of the state in the promotion of public welfare is considered a strategic agency in the fostering of good citizenship and in preventing social maladjustments. (p. 99)

Procedures of Home-Community Visits

The first step was the referral process conducted during the early morning conferences, before the children entered the building. The visiting teachers spent their early mornings conferring with classroom teachers about children "because in that way there is less chance for misstatement of the difficulty. An accurate statement of the facts saves the visiting teacher embarrassment later in the home" (Oppenheimer, 1925, p. 127). Additionally, when necessary, these conferences were also attended by parents and school principals.

The second step was to interview the child at school, although not necessarily only during class time. Interviews were also conducted before school, at noon, during recess, and during health examinations. The goal of these interviews was to win the child's confidence and to relieve the child's fears that the visiting teacher was preparing to dispense some form of punishment. Johnson (1916) advocated that the visiting teacher, when engaged in the interview process, critically reflect on the linkages between (1) the child's adjustment at school, home, and community; and (2) the parent's and teacher's values regarding work, schooling, and child's capabilities. Therefore, she needed to consider issues such as "how far the school maladjustment repeats itself in his outside life. What kind of member of society is he? How is he regarded by his family and his mates? What tastes or interests does he show and what capabilities and aptitudes in the world where he is not judged by academic standards? To what extent are these interests and these aptitudes made part of the school life? How can school requirements be modified or supplemented to adjust the immediate difficulty and to bring the child into more harmonious relationship with his school environment? What are his home conditions?" (Johnson, 1916, p. 6).

The third step was that the visiting teacher flexibly schedule multiple visits to homes, agencies, and other community settings. Their outside contacts included services in public health, financial assistance, and recreation for children. Oppenheimer (1925) mentioned these multiple settings when stating:

> Sometimes the investigation leads the visitor to the place of employment of the mother or father, to the homes of older sisters or brothers, or to neighbors. Frequently night calls or Sunday calls are made, when all members of the family are at home. The reactions of the family when all are together is an important factor in the diagnosis of many cases.
>
> In some cases, because of the interview and home visit, the visiting teacher may think it advisable to call the social service exchange to find out what social agencies have known the family or are interested in them at the time. If the social exchange reports that other agencies are interested, the visiting teacher proceeds to find out what they have done in regard to the situation. (p. 129)

Visits to homes, vocational guidance officers, juvenile courts, and outside agencies involved about half of the visiting teachers' working time. The other half was spent on interviewing children, classroom teachers, the principal, attendance officers, and the nurse in the school. These teachers preferred afternoons for visiting new immigrant families because more mothers were home at that time, and there was less of a chance of disturbing either parent who needed to sleep later into the morning after working the night shift (Oppenheimer, 1925).

The fourth step for the home visitor was to decide the intervention strategy. They strove to be preventive rather than corrective (Nudd, 1916). Prevention meant visiting and establishing "friendly relations with the homes of those children who exhibit the first symptoms of falling below the school standard in scholarship and conduct. She uses every available means to make the child's surroundings a help rather than a menace to his educational progress. Equally important, she brings back to the school an account of the individual characteristics which intimate acquaintance with the children has shown to exist, and reports such of the social conditions as indicate the district's general educational needs" (Swan, 1916, p. xi).

This photograph shows an interior of a home that a visitor would have encountered.

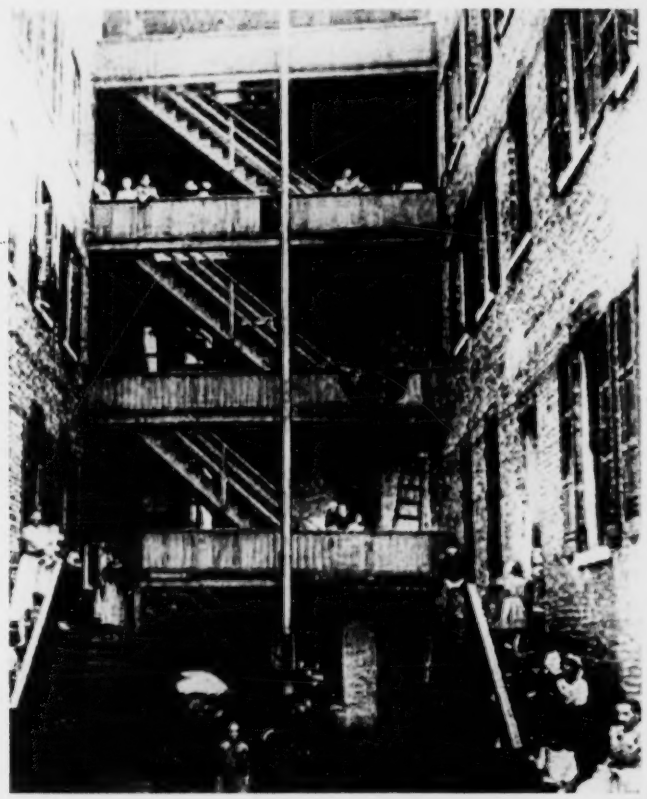
"Every available means" and "prevention" suggest inevitable complexity, as recorded in the case of Miriam, a child in grade 6 who took charge of the household after the death of her mother. Miriam was on the street at night where some of her peers used her as a shield to cover their misdeeds. The visiting teacher provided a host of services including locating a job for the father, moving the family to better quarters, ensuring that Miriam was assigned to a sympathetic teacher, and enlisting tutoring for her. Swan (1916) wrote: "In this case, however, it was not a question of one or two visits which the class teacher could have made after school hours, but rather of a long series of visits, covering a period of two years, not only to the home, but to the agencies that could be of practical assistance in the case. During this period Miriam had had at least four [classroom] teachers" (p. xiii).

Miriam's mini case study also exemplifies the following description of "personal supervision." Personal supervision meant actively mentoring and teaching the child; dealing with the child's personality; taking a personal interest in the child over several years; and seeking commitments from schools, homes, and agencies for the child's optimal development. Levine and Levine (1992) state that the help was concrete, personal, and exhaustive. Johnson (1916) and Oppenheimer (1925) evaluated this approach as the most

effective strategy used by these early practitioners and also the most frequently used strategy.

Swan (1916) documents the intervention procedures to be relevant, sensitive, and respectful of the family context. Angelina, a 10-year-old, third-grade student, came from a home where the mother "took coats" from a garment factory to supplement the family's income. Angelina had to sew all afternoon in addition to helping with the housework before school. These morning chores meant that she arrived late for class on a daily basis. As a result, "each morning began with a reproof from the teacher and the school work was taken up by a discouraged child" (p. xiii).

The visiting teacher devised and carried out a plan of action. She persuaded the mother to allow Angelina to read for 30 minutes each day. Moreover, the reading was to be done outside on the fire escape so that Angelina could get some much needed daylight and fresh air. Finally, the mother was asked to send Angelina to school on time.



Angelina sat on a fire escape in a tenement house similar to the one in this photograph. (Reproduced with permission: Jane Addams Memorial Collection, JAMC negative 314, Special Collections, University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago.)

At the same time, the teacher was apprised of the home situation. She was asked to be patient with the tardiness while the mother was endeavoring to comply. Rather than chronic criticism, Angelina received praise for improvement. In time, the tardiness ceased. Angelina was permitted an hour of outdoor play each day at home. She was relieved of the sewing work. The additional reading practice also showed results. Her schoolwork improved so significantly that she was transferred to a special class where she completed two grades in one year.

Outcomes of Home-Community Visits

Johnson (1916) stated that from 1913 to 1914, according to home visitors' reports, their visits had "desired results" in 80% of the 873 children in the New York public schools. One of the desired outcomes was correcting or preventing academic failure, and personal supervision was stated as the most effective method employed to overcome this failure.

From 1919 to 1920, Oppenheimer compared the scholastic achievement of children who had received the additional services of visiting teachers to a matched group of children who were enrolled in the same classrooms, had received the same marks previously, and had received the same classroom instruction, but had not received home visiting services. The children in the home-community visit intervention group were specifically referred because of their academic difficulties—for they were considered the most likely to fail the grade. After 2 semesters of intervention, these children had 19% more promotions than the matched control group. Sixty percent of the students under home visitors' supervision improved their grades within the first semester, while only 38% of the children in the control group improved their grades. During the second semester, the figures were 80% and 61%, respectively (Oppenheimer, 1925).

Oppenheimer (1925) conducted another study on the opinions of the visiting teachers, with a total caseload of 1,013 children from 71 classrooms. Regardless of the reasons for referral, 74% of their students showed improvement; an additional 18% showed partial improvement, while only 8% showed no improvement.

Implications for Contemporary Education: Lessons Learned

Lesson 1: Home-Community Visits Are a Tried and Tested Strategy

Home-community visiting is now being presented as "a new profession" by many (e.g., Klass, 1996, p. 69)—perhaps because providing home visits is becoming a full-time job for some early childhood interventionists and the primary method of delivery in some programs (for example, supporting new or expectant parents, Dawson et al., 1991; infant mental health, Sia & Breakey, 1985; and early childhood/special education, Clark, 1986; McBride & Peterson, 1997). However, home visiting is not a new occupation. Mary Richmond recognized it as an arduous profession as early as 1912, and she wrote a handbook on how to seriously, systematically, and scientifically conduct friendly visits among the poor (Richmond, 1912).

Historical research confirms the presence of home-community visits since the advent of formal early childhood education in the United States. Ross (1976) states that "women saw the boundaries of their duties extended into the home and the community" (p. 41). Thus, these pioneers had an expanded view of their role beyond the classroom. Even today, Bhavnagri and Vaswani (1999) emphasize that in order for tomorrow's teachers to function effectively in the 21st century, they too will be expected to have an expanded role, which will include working with families and communities.

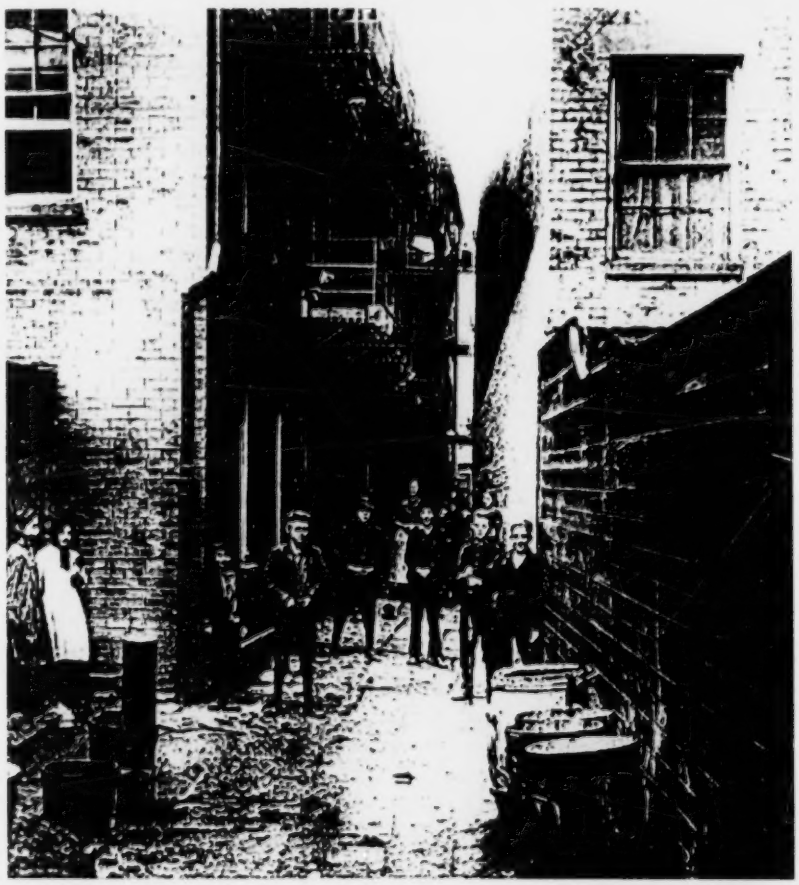
Lesson 2: Home-Community Visits Are a Primary Strategy in Family-Focused Programs

Many programs for young children are now family focused, and educators do regular home visits—for example, Missouri State's "Parents as Teachers" Project (Wagner & Clayton, 1999). This trend is particularly true of early childhood special education programs, due to public law 94-142 and public law 94-457 (see Neisworth & Fewell, 1991, for examples). The current philosophical approach to working with

young children is to provide support services and enable families to optimally utilize resources (e.g., Bryant, Ramey, Sparling, & Wasik, 1987; Dunst, Trivette, & Deal, 1988). Klass (1996), in a recent book fully devoted to home visiting, recommends that in order to serve children and families, the professional visitors network with community agencies, institutions, and organizations to reduce any barriers to services. This networking is exactly what the "kindergartners" (Hill, 1972; Ross 1976; Wiggin, 1923), settlement workers (Addams, 1910; Wald, 1915), and visiting teachers (Oppenheimer, 1925) were doing, and thus we can learn from their struggles, efforts, and accomplishments.

Lesson 3: Home-Community Visits Are an Effective Strategy with At-Risk Children

Working with families is one of the most effective ways to enhance the competencies and achievement of "at-risk" children from low-income families with limited education (see, e.g., National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983; U.S. Department of Education, 1987). This finding is frequently translated into offering parent education in group meetings. However, these meetings, which are a traditional mode of parent participation (Powell, 1989), are typically poorly attended, especially by those parents whose children could benefit the most. This article documents that early childhood professionals in the past also worked with very poor and uneducated parents (Aiello, 1991), who had low motivation to enroll their children in early childhood and early elementary education (Bodnar, 1991), and who viewed schooling as supplementary, external, and unrelated to making a real living (Handlin, 1982; Riis, 1970). However, early childhood professionals were effective in reaching out to these parents through frequent home and community visits. The lesson to be learned from the history of these visits is that although they are very time-consuming and labor intensive, they are an effective strategy for working with hard-to-reach, uninformed parents with limited education and low motivation—especially in inner-city neighborhoods.



Visitors saw children lingering in the street.

Lesson 4: Home-Community Visits Teach Us How to Promote Total Development

The history of home-community visits provides insight into how the pioneers strategized to promote "total development" of the "whole child," an approach that is currently advocated in the field of early childhood education (Barbour & Seefeldt, 1993; Bredekemp & Copple, 1997; Hart, Burts, & Charlesworth, 1997; Hendrick, 1996, 1998). Kindergartners, settlement workers, and visiting teachers not only addressed the academic component of education but also promoted the physical development of children by improving their health and nutrition, reducing infant mortality, and promoting sanitation. They promoted children's socioemotional development by educating parents on positive guidance, democratic discipline, and conflict resolution within families. They further educated the families regarding the child's cognitive development by demonstrating the educational value of play and the fine arts.

Lesson 5: Home-Community Visits Teach Us How to Work with Non-English-Speaking Children

The pioneers faced the challenge of working with children and their families who were "foreigners" and did not speak English (Hunt, 1976). Additionally, some of the families (e.g., Italians from the provinces of south Naples and from Sicily) had not been exposed to universal democratic education and had governments in their own countries that did not foster democratic participation (Berrol, 1991). Furthermore, many parents of these children came from rural areas and had very little education themselves. Therefore, the purposes of home-community visits were to (1) teach English, (2) inculcate democratic values, and (3) help the families adjust to their new country by "Americanizing" them. Today, teachers are facing similar challenges. Fix and Zimmermann (1993) state: "Immigrants now account for 35 percent of the net annual population increase in the United States; immigrants and their children account for more than 50 percent. . . . the number of first- and second-generation immigrants ages 5 to 14 . . . will almost double in the next 20 years and will account for more than half of the increase in that population cohort" (p. 18). It is estimated that children whose first language is other than English will grow by at least 35% by 2000 (National Association for Bilingual Education, 1992). Since the historical perspective on home-community visits suggests that home-community visits were successful in reaching out to diverse new populations during the Reform Era, today's teachers may also effectively reach recent immigrants by conducting home and community visits.

Lesson 6: Home-Community Visits Teach Us How to Integrate Research and Practice

Although research and practice are two separate activities, the early home-visiting pioneers conducted action research during visits to solve their daily work-related problems, demonstrating that the two activities can be combined. Kindergartners, settlement workers, and visiting teachers continuously made observations, informal interviews, need assessments, and household surveys of the community. Based on their findings, they provided multiple services that (1) improved health, nutrition, and sanitation; (2) provided playgrounds and parks; (3) counseled individuals to resolve family conflicts; (4) designed professional associations as support networks; and (5) built school-business partnerships to support children's education. Kindergartners, settlement workers, and visiting teachers not only interviewed their focal child but his or her brothers, sisters, parents, and neighbors in homes, parks, school playgrounds, shops, and streets. Thus, they used multiple research methods, referred to multiple sources, in multiple settings, to have multiple outcomes. This comprehensive approach is similar to what is called "triangulation" today, and it is highly recommended in qualitative research (Yin, 1994). Thus, these pioneers are role models for today's practitioners, who are expected to solve their daily problems by doing

similar qualitative "action research" in their natural settings.

Lesson 7: Home-Community Visits Teach Us How to Develop Interagency and Interprofessional Collaboration

The kindergartners, settlement workers, and visiting teachers demonstrated that they truly believed and implemented what is called today interagency and interprofessional collaboration. The history of their visitations reported here is replete with examples of collaboration with businessmen, legislatures, school superintendents, physicians, nurses, dentists, health-sanitation inspectors, juvenile court officials, municipal staff (e.g., officials on housing standards, traffic, parks, and recreation), and social service workers in agencies (e.g., Salvation Army, Catholic Aide Society, and the Anti-Filth Society). Thus, they were able to provide what is now called "wraparound programs" or "family-centered, community-based, integrated, and full-service education" (Corrigan, 1996; Corrigan & Udas, 1996; Dryfoos, 1994; Office of Educational Research and Improvement, 1995). Increasingly, early childhood educators are expected and often required to network and collaborate with other professionals in order to address the needs of the whole child. They are often overwhelmed with these demands and may not know of successful strategies to address these requirements. Today's early childhood professionals can learn from the Reform Era pioneers who found that successful interprofessional collaboration was possible and, most importantly, that face-to-face communication during community visits contributed significantly to making collaboration a feasible venture.

Lesson 8: Home-Community Visits Teach Us How to Understand Emerging Nations

The history of home-community visits is instructional for those who have been raised in industrialized societies and are concerned with the conditions in developing countries. It is helpful to remember that not too long ago many industrialized nations had living conditions similar to those observed today in emerging nations (e.g., abject poverty, congestion, poor sanitation, high infant mortality, child labor, sibling care, limited schooling). Understanding the history of home-community visits can help students; professionals; and volunteers in international education, international development, and international social welfare understand that all societies face similar challenges when they undergo rapid transformation caused by urbanization, industrialization, and migration. On the other hand, for those emerging nations who do not have optimal living conditions, this article may provide hope that someday they will have a better quality of life, with assistance from professionals such as home visitors.

Lesson 9: Home-Community Visits Are Instructional and Inspirational for Educators

The experiences of the pioneers in the home-community visits can be rejuvenating and inspirational for today's educators. The guidelines for teacher preparation programs (e.g., National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1996) and the national standards for early childhood and elementary education (e.g., National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, National Board for Professional Teaching Standards) advocate that teachers be prepared to work with parents and the community (Association for Childhood Education International, 1997a, 1997b). Therefore, the voices of early pioneers reported here could be instructional for student teachers. For neophyte teachers, this research offers a perspective on the roles and responsibilities of an educator, which beginning teachers are unlikely to have acquired on their own. The documentation provided in this article could also help revitalize some cynical, disillusioned, or "burned out" teachers. The commitment, dedication, effort, and energy displayed by these pioneers can strengthen our convictions regarding the merits of doing home and community visits.

Lesson 10: Home Community Visits Can Have Positive Outcomes when Certain Characteristics Are Met

Characteristics that contribute to effective outcomes in contemporary home visits are amply discussed in two theme issues of the *Future of Children* (Behrman, 1993, 1999). Many of these characteristics were prevalent in pioneering home-community visits, thus suggesting which variables contribute to positive outcomes. For example, Gomby, Larson, Lewit, and Behrman (1993) reported that professionals, such as trained teachers, social workers, and, especially, nurses with expertise in child development and health, had more effective outcomes than paraprofessionals with limited education and expertise. The pioneer home-community visitors were all well-educated, professional teachers, social workers, or nurses. Research reported in the special issues of the *Future of Children* indicates that high frequency of visitations and intensity of contacts positively influence contemporary results. From all written accounts, the pioneer home-community visitors worked with missionary zeal, and their home-community visits were of such high frequency and intensity that they often moved into given neighborhoods to devote their entire lives to their work.

These researchers also reported that contemporary home visits benefited the neediest but provided little benefit for the broader population. Some of the home visiting model programs that they evaluated did not exclusively target vulnerable families but were seen as a preventive strategy for all families. On the other hand, pioneer home-community visitors exclusively targeted what we today would label "at-risk" families, and this emphasis resulted in noticeably visible, positive outcomes.

The research reported in the special issues of the *Future of Children* found contemporary home visitors to be more effective if they helped parents access other needed services. Researchers found that family needs must be addressed, not just the child's needs. The research reported also indicated that visitors cannot merely deliver a "canned curriculum"; they must customize and individualize their services. These researchers recommended that home visits include health and support services beyond education. The pioneer home-community visitors implemented these now contemporary recommendations, which contributed to their effectiveness. They taught us how to serve children and families by providing multiple individualized and customized services.

To summarize, Bronfenbrenner (1979) argues that we need to know the child in many informal and intimate settings that he or she directly affects, as well as those settings (besides his formal and structured school environment) that directly affect the child. He calls these multiple settings the child's microsystems. He also states that we need to have strong linkages between the child's many microsystems (i.e., his mesosystem). Most definitely, home-community visits are a highly potent mesosystem because they link the child's microsystems of school, home, and community.

Conclusion

The home-community visit is a highly valuable service-provision strategy because it is an individualized, face-to-face, and bi-directional approach. Most importantly, home-community visits are effective because they are conducted in informal and intimate settings in which the child resides. Unlike other forms of service provision, home-community visits provide a unique learning opportunity for teachers. Teachers who conduct home-community visits gain insight into their students' lives through personally experiencing and witnessing the conditions that affect their students outside of school. Home visits are unlike group meetings, which are not typically highly individualized; phone conferences, which are not face to face; newsletters, which are not typically bi-directional; and parent conferences, which are conducted in formal school settings and not in intimate, residential settings. Additionally, unlike other forms of service provision, home-community visits by their very nature do not focus on the child alone but instead

effectively reach out to support the whole family and the community. Finally, as can be seen from this study of home visits during the Reform Era and the implications for contemporary educators, home-community visits are no doubt challenging but nevertheless worth pursuing.

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Table 1

Home-Community Visits during the Reform Era: Purposes of Visits

Charity Kindergarten Teachers' Visits	Settlement House Workers' Visits	Public School Visiting Teachers' Visits
To educate parents about innovative kindergarten education	To improve the living conditions of the poor	To provide compulsory education for children in public schools
To know children as individuals by knowing their families and communities		To provide academic services for children's achievement
To facilitate "Americanization" of children and families		
To teach parents about nutrition, hygiene, alternative methods of discipline, and child development		
To utilize community businesses, services, and resources to optimize children's development and promote kindergartens		

Back to Home Community Visits

Table 2

Home-Community Visits during the Reform Era: Procedures of Visits

Charity Kindergarten Teachers' Visits	Settlement House Workers' Visits	Public School Visiting Teachers' Visits
Conducted home visits to successfully build rapport with families Introduced Froebelian "gifts" and "occupations" Taught child care and management and the educational value of play	Taught the importance of health and nutrition to reduce infant mortality and to provide social support during medical crises Alleviated the effects of poverty by mobilizing human resources including children Provided public amenities (e.g., incinerators, storage containers, toilets, public baths) Conducted qualitative, ethnographic, participatory action research	Conducted referrals Interviewed children at school Scheduled visits to homes, agencies, and other community settings Decided on the intervention strategy

Back to Home Community Visits

Table 3

Home-Community Visits during the Reform Era: Outcomes of Visits

Charity Kindergarten Teachers' Visits	Settlement House Workers' Visits	Public School Visiting Teachers' Visits
Parents valuing play as educational	Reformation in labor legislation and compulsory education	Correction and prevention of academic failure
Families transforming child-rearing practices and neighborhoods (supported by anecdotal evidence)	Establishment of standards (e.g., adequate space, conveniences, privacy, and public baths) and housing reform	
Families receiving welfare services	Introduction and promotion of safe playgrounds	
Parents becoming local advocates and leaders		
Kindergartens becoming part of public schools		

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Comparisons in Early Years Education: History, Fact, and Fiction

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Abstract

This article discusses three schools and considers what lessons modern educators might learn from them. The first school described is the Malting House school, where Susan Isaacs taught for several years. The Malting House school, which existed from 1924 to 1929 in Cambridge, England, teaches the lesson of looking, with attention, at everything that children do. The second school discussed is a present-day primary classroom in Hertfordshire, England, where the teaching methods of Annabelle Dixon are described. This classroom demonstrates the relationship between an educator's core values and her pedagogical practices. The third school discussed is Louisa May Alcott's fictional school, Plumfield. The lesson learned from this school is the importance of the imagination, which teaches us to aspire to a more just and harmonious society.

Introduction

In this paper, I examine three very different schools and classrooms, and I consider what lessons we might learn from them, in terms of enriching our professional thinking. First, I describe a school that is no longer functioning, but for which we have abundant documentation. The lesson from this recent piece of educational history concerns, I suggest, the prime responsibility of educators to learn from the children they teach. The second school represents fact, the present day; I attempt to show how this classroom exemplifies the relationship between understanding and purpose, a lesson in educational values and their steadfast application. The third school is fictional; it is a school where we can, if we choose, learn about the power of the imagination, the power by which we can see into the lives of

children and reflect on what might constitute the good life for them, in the Aristotelian sense of the life that is worthy of being lived.

School One

The first school of the three is the Malting House school, in Cambridge, England, founded by the wealthy eccentric Englishman Geoffrey Pyke, whose only son, David, was born in 1921. For this child, his father intended a childhood and an education free of trauma, based on self-discovery and scientific enquiry. To this end, he instigated an experiment in education, not knowing where it would lead. As a first step along the way, in the spring of 1924, he placed this advertisement in a number of journals, including the *New Statesman* and *Nature:*

> WANTED—an Educated Young Woman with honours degree—preferably first class—or the equivalent, to conduct education of a small group of children aged 2-1/2–7, as a piece of scientific work and research.
>
> Previous educational experience is not considered a bar, but the advertisers hope to get in touch with a university graduate—or someone of equivalent intellectual standing—who has hitherto considered themselves too good for teaching and who has probably already engaged in another occupation.
>
> A LIBERAL SALARY—liberal as compared with research work or teaching—will be paid to a suitable applicant who will live out, have fixed hours and opportunities for a pleasant independent existence. An assistant will be provided if the work increases.
>
> They wish to obtain the services of someone with certain personal qualifications for the work and a scientific attitude of mind towards it. Hence a training in any of the natural sciences is a distinct advantage.
>
> Preference will be given to those who do not hold any form of religious belief but this is not by itself considered to be a substitute for other qualifications. (Gardner, 1969, p. 54)

As we all know, the advertisement was answered by Susan Isaacs, who went on to open the Malting House school in a spacious house beside the river Cam, in the center of Cambridge, in the autumn of 1924. Isaacs remained there until the end of 1927, when she returned to London. In the first term, there was a group of 10 boys, ranging in age from 2 years 8 months to 4 years 10 months. In 1926–1927, the age range was 3 years to 10 years 5 months, and in the last term covered by Isaacs' own records, there were 20 children in the group, ranging in age from 2 years 7 months to 8 years 6 months. Isaacs' only biographer, Dorothy Gardner (an ex-student and devoted friend of Isaacs), is less than forthcoming about the reasons for Isaacs' departure from the school in 1927, but it was almost certainly due to Pyke's becoming more eccentric, more interfering, and a good deal less wealthy. A terrible crash in the futures of the copper market in the autumn was clearly one of the precipitating factors in Isaacs' move; Pyke's fortunes did not immediately improve, and the school finally closed at the end of 1929 (Gardner, 1969; van der Eyken & Turner, 1969).

Back in London with her second husband, Nathan Isaacs, who had himself briefly worked at the Malting House school, there was plenty of work for Susan Isaacs to do. In the first 2 years of the school's existence, she had amassed a vast quantity of anecdotal records of the children's activities, noted down by Isaacs and her assistants. One of her assistants, Evelyn Lawrence, later became director of the National Froebel Foundation (Note 1) and, after Susan's death in 1948, Nathan's second wife. These notes are the basis for the two substantial volumes in which Isaacs documented the work of the Malting House school: *Intellectual Growth in Young Children*, first published in 1930, and *Social Development of Young Children*, which appeared in 1933. Impressively bulky and detailed as these works are, their lasting importance and interest derive in part from the conditions under which the

material was collected. Isaacs' own shorthand description (Isaacs, 1930, p. ix) is that the conditions were "relatively free," but this phrase does nothing to convey the extraordinary qualities of this extraordinary school. We need to look more closely.

The conditions of relative freedom took the form of, first, "an all-round lessening of the degree of inhibition of children's impulses" compared to other schools or family groups (Isaacs, 1930, p. 12). Some practical considerations, particularly for the children's safety, did set a number of limits on their behavior. But by today's standards, there were very few limits, and by today's sensitivities, the limits were set in the most unlikely places. For example, in the garden at the Malting House school were several garden sheds, one of which had a most enticing and accessible sloping roof. The rule was not, no climbing, but a much more daring and child-friendly one: only one child on the roof at a time (implicitly an invitation to climb!). By contrast, there was virtually no constraint on the children's verbal expression, their intellectual impulses, their expressions of infantile sexuality, their anal and urethral interests, their feelings (including anger and aggression), their views on everything that happened around them, and their questions.

The outcome of this relative freedom of expression was, as Isaacs claims and as generations of excited readers have discovered for themselves, a "greater dramatic vividness of their social and imaginative and intellectual life as a whole" (Isaacs, 1930, p. 12). Apart from anything else, in comparison with the primary classrooms where I have taught in the past and regularly observe today, there was no time wasted in the business of forming into lines, waiting in lines, completing the registers, (Note 2) collecting lunch money, searching for PE equipment—all the events that add up to *evaporated time* in Campbell's vivid phrase (Campbell & Neill, 1994, p. 23). All the available time was available for the children, not for the teachers' routines; it was filled with the children's dramatic, vivid lives. Writing in 1927, Evelyn Lawrence described the difference between Malting House children and children at other schools, where they are forced "to wear a mask of seemliness and respectability" (Gardner, 1969, p. 65). Whereas, of the Malting House school, she wrote: "Here the children's crudities, the disorder of their emotions, their savagery even, are allowed to show. Fights and squabbles often occur" (in Gardner, 1969, p. 65). After such a description of children *without* masks, it is quite a surprise to find a photograph, in van der Eyken's essay on the school, of a cluster of perfectly normal looking children, sitting on the grass—although the caption tries to strike an alarmist note: "Some children have taken their shoes off, others have kept them on. There were few rules" (van der Eyken & Turner, 1969).

The second aspect of the "relatively free" conditions that is worth noting is the combination of the physical environment and the way in which the adult educators responded to the children's impulses and initiatives. These two elements of the curriculum, taken together, led the children to be more active, more curious, more creative, more exploratory, and more inventive than they could have been in any ordinary school. The children passed their days moving freely between a large hall, plentifully equipped, with a gallery and a piano, four small rooms (one used largely as a science laboratory), and a large garden with animals, including, at different times, mice, rabbits, guinea-pigs, two cats and a dog, hen and chickens, snakes and salamanders, silkworms, a wormery, and a fresh water aquarium. There were two lawns, abundant fruit trees, real bricks for building, space for bonfires, a seesaw with hooks so that weights could be fitted underneath, and much more. Indoors, the provision was no less stimulating: small movable pulleys, which could be screwed in where desired; a full-sized lathe and woodworking equipment; Bunsen burners, with all the necessary trimmings of tripods, gauzes, flasks, and test tubes; modeling materials, textiles, paint, and writing materials; cupboards full of Montessori equipment; microscopes; and dissecting instruments. Given all this, Isaacs' claim that "there was more for us to see, and we could see it more plainly" (Isaacs, 1930, p. 12) seems a calculated understatement, almost designed to provoke.

Provoking some of the children's activities undoubtedly were, as we shall shortly see. But first, I want to emphasize the uses to which Isaacs puts her rich observational material. She did not collect an inert mass of data, nor publish her observations for them to sit tamely on the page. The data have been set to work to construct a coherent account of the development of children's intellectual and emotional powers. In the 1930 book, Isaacs describes their powers of discovery, reason, and thought; in the 1933 sequel, she gives a comprehensive account of their social relations: their hostility and aggression, as well as their friendliness and cooperation, their love and hate, their guilt and shame, and their capacity for compassion and reparation. Every accumulating inch of descriptive text plays its part as evidence for the conceptual framework of learning and development that Isaacs constructs and consolidates. In these two volumes, what she and her colleagues saw, so vividly and plainly, is transformed into a geography of learning, as she charts the children's explorations of both their inner and outer worlds.

For this enterprise, Isaacs was supremely well qualified—not just because of the material in her possession, and the time she devoted to it, but also because of her own intellectual and emotional biography. It is worth pausing here for a brief summary of her life story. Pulled out of school at the age of 15 by her father because she had confessed to becoming agnostic, she stayed at home with her stepmother (her father refusing to speak to her for 2 years) until she was 22. In 1907, she enrolled to train as a teacher of young children (5- to 7-year-olds) at the University of Manchester, where the course was led by Grace Owen. She soon transferred to a degree program and graduated in 1912 with a First class degree in philosophy. She was promptly awarded a graduate scholarship at the psychology department at the University of Cambridge and emerged with a master's degree in 1913. Isaacs then embarked on a series of lectureships—in infant school education at Darlington Training College, in logic at the University of Manchester, and in psychology at the University of London. More important, as I shall argue later, is that around 1920 she started her first psychoanalysis, and in 1922, she started her second. In the same year, she started medical training in order to practice as a medical psychoanalyst, but she did not proceed to work on the wards. She began her own practice in psychoanalysis in 1923, a year before she took up the post at the Malting House school.

So Isaacs was in no way a conventional infant school teacher. She was also a philosopher, a psychologist, and a practicing psychoanalyst. All of these perspectives contribute to the richness of what she saw and the strength and depth of her understanding. In a revealing paper given in 1938 to the Education Section of the British Psychological Society, with the title "Recent Advances in the Psychology of Young Children," Isaacs argues that psychoanalytic research is especially important in the study of children, because it is concerned above all with "*the meaning of the child's experiences to himself*" (Isaacs, 1948, p. 84, Isaacs' italics).

It is interesting that in the period 1927–1930, Isaacs originally intended to write one book about children, not two, because she thought the same data threw light on both intellectual and emotional development. It was with regret that she abandoned this plan and separated intellectual growth and social development. In *The Children We Teach* (1932), a much shorter book, she reintegrates these two domains, emphasizing the interconnectedness of affect and cognition: "The thirst for understanding springs from the child's deepest emotional needs, a veritable passion" (Isaacs, 1932, p. 113). This powerful insight is constantly emphasized by Gardner (1969) who writes: "no-one who studied with her [as Gardner had done] would be tempted to forget that children cannot be really emotionally satisfied unless they can also learn, nor really learn unless their emotional needs are met" (p. 149).

In my work as an in-service educator with early childhood practitioners, on short courses and at diploma and master's levels, I frequently use examples and extracts from Isaacs' work, attempting to demonstrate how much there is to learn from the Malting House school. But the extracts I select do not always have a very warm reception. I have long abandoned attempts to convince contemporary early years

practitioners that Bunsen burners should have a place in their provisions, but I am still surprised by the frequently noisy and hostile responses evoked by passages such as the following:

> 18.6.25. The children let the rabbit out to run about the garden for the first time, to their great delight. They followed him about, stroked him, and talked about his fur, his shape, and his ways.
>
> 13.7.25. Some of the children called out that the rabbit was ill and dying. They found it in the summer house, hardly able to move. They were very sorry, and talked much about it. They shut it up in the hutch and gave it warm milk. Throughout the morning they kept looking at it; they thought it was getting better, and said it was "not dying today."
>
> 14.7.25. The rabbit had died in the night. Dan found it and said, "It's dead—its tummy does not move up and down now." Paul said, "My daddy says that if we put it into water, it will get alive again." Mrs. I. said, "Shall we do so and see?" They put it into a bath of water. Some of them said, "It *is* alive." Duncan said, "If it floats, it's dead, and if it sinks, it's alive." It floated on the surface. One of them said, "It's alive because it's moving." This was a circular movement, due to the currents in the water. Mrs. I. therefore put in a small stick which also moved round and round, and they agreed that the stick was not alive. They then suggested that they should bury the rabbit, and all helped to dig a hole and bury it.
>
> 15.7.25. Frank and Duncan talked of digging the rabbit up—but Frank said, "It's not there—it's gone up to the sky." They began to dig, but tired of it, and ran off to something else. Later they came back, and dug again. Duncan, however, said, "Don't bother—it's gone up in the sky," and gave up digging. Mrs. I. therefore said, "Shall we see if it's there?" and also dug. They found the rabbit, and were very interested to see it still there. Duncan said, "Shall we cut its head off?" They re-buried it. (Isaacs, 1930, pp. 182-183)

But the educators' resistance to the idea of children digging up a dead rabbit is as nothing compared to their comments on passages that describe Isaacs and the children doing what she called "looking inside" dead animals:

> 14.6.26. During the week-end, the cat had knocked over a cage of mice, and the "daddy mouse" was dead. The children looked at it, and spoke of its teeth, tail and fur. Mrs. I. then said, "Should we look inside it?" They agreed eagerly, and she dissected it in a bath of formalin. Dan, Jessica, Christopher and Priscilla watched with eager and sustained interest. They shuddered when the knife cut into the skin, but comforted themselves with the thought that it was dead. They saw the guts, kidneys, liver, heart, ribs, backbone, airpipe, foodpipe and stomach, brain, inside of eye, inside of mouth, and tongue. Christopher asked to see "the thinking part." They asked Mrs. I. to cut open the gut to show the faeces. Later, the children spent some time watching the silkworms and caterpillars, and feeding the rabbit. (Isaacs, 1930, p. 185)

Little do the educators know, as the discussion rages around the group, that there are, concealed in my teaching file, other extracts that would fan the flames yet higher:

> 26.1.26. Mrs. I. found that Dan and Priscilla had cut a worm into pieces with a saw. They spoke of the blood and "inside."
>
> 18.2.26. The children went into the garden. Priscilla wanted to pull a worm into halves, and said she would marry the boy who did. They all said they wanted to marry her. Dan eventually did pull the worm in halves. Frank then pulled the rest of it apart; they were very excited about this. (It should be noted how few instances of actual cruelty are recorded against Priscilla.) (Isaacs, 1930, p. 205)

I do not often venture to use this last extract: I cannot commend it as useful teaching material. But I remain interested in why today's practitioners respond so violently to material that dramatically illustrates important aspects of children's lives, in particular, the ways in which "the desire to master and hurt," in Isaacs' words (Isaacs, 1930, p. 164), co-exists with "the impulse to cherish," and the problem this contradiction poses to parents and educators who want "to make a positive educational use" of both these impulses. To a certain extent, Isaacs herself anticipated some of these difficulties. In the section of *Intellectual Growth in Young Children* where she discusses children's biological interests, she writes a superb exposé of the inconsistencies of contemporary adult thinking about appropriate

behavior to animals. She demonstrates the contradictions in adult injunctions to be kind to all animals—except wasps, slugs, mosquitoes, and foxes. And although children must be kind to cats, they must not imitate what cats do to mice or baby birds. Isaacs identifies a variety of confusions, which are still with us, in the cultural constructs with which we do our everyday biological thinking—confusions well worth reflecting on by educators interested in the growth of children's key ideas in the biological domain.

Another difficulty for educators today may reside in the emotional domain. It is possibly—more or less—painful to be expected to tolerate children's expressions of emotions, such as cruelty, rage, and hatred, which, as adults, and particularly perhaps as early childhood educators, we have long learned to stifle and repress. Wearing masks ourselves (of perpetual good humor and an encouraging smile), we may well be alarmed by children *without* masks, speaking and acting from the heart.

But the core of the matter is surely that all educators (and I include myself) prefer to focus on those characteristics of children that match our educational aspirations, our aims and ambitions, our pedagogical purposes. We select for our attention those aspects of children, indeed of childhood, that fit our finest hopes and dreams, whereas Susan Isaacs did no such thing. When she was preparing *Social Development in Young Children*, she was advised to omit much of her material, because it was considered too shocking and likely to offend. But Isaacs took no notice. "I was not prepared to select only such behaviour as pleased me, or as fitted into the general convention as to what little children should feel and talk about" (Isaacs, 1930, p. 19). So, for example, on November 21, 1924, Isaacs notes that Harry, not quite 5, follows her to the lavatory, peering through the frosted glass and shouting with glee: "I can see her! I can see her combinations!" (Isaacs, 1933, p. 140). Isaacs' comment on this and many other such incidents (some, doubtless, likely to cause offence in an academic paper) is compellingly blunt: "I was just as ready to record and to study the less attractive aspects of their behaviour as the more pleasing, whatever my aims and preferences as their educator might be" (Isaacs, 1933, p. 19).

Isaacs is equally blunt in explaining her position: "The first reason is that I myself happen to be interested in *everything* that little children do and feel" (Isaacs, 1933, p. 113). This uncompromising position is one of the reasons why Isaacs' thought remains so invigorating today. By being interested in everything, she developed a prodigious capacity to follow the growth of children's thinking and feeling, even when they went in unexpected and undesirable directions. Isaacs was simply not interested in the extent to which children's thought mirrored her own or the extent to which they made their faces fit the conventions of an arbitrary adult society. To see children as Isaacs saw them is to see them whole, vividly and dramatically, with all their strengths and weaknesses intact. The Malting House school teaches us the lesson of looking, with attention, at everything that children do (and think and feel) as they live and learn in our benevolent provisions for them.

School Two

The second school to be presented is of the present day—a small primary school in Hertfordshire, in an area of extreme economic and social disadvantage, within sight and sound of the M25, the congested beltway that circles London. The teacher whose work I will describe, Annabelle Dixon, is now a research associate at the School of Education, in the University of Cambridge, England. Until September 1997, however, she was deputy-head and classroom teacher, and I have had the privilege of observing her work and her class of children on many occasions over the last few years. (Note 3)

During the academic year 1996–1997, when the observations I will draw on below took place, there were between 17 and 20 children in the mixed-age class (from 4 to 7 years old). Many of these children came to school without having had any breakfast, which explains why, when the hatch in the dining hall flew open at 10:30 before the mid-morning break, there was a long queue of children in place to buy slices of freshly buttered toast at a modest price. One of my abiding memories of this classroom is of the children wandering back to the cloakroom, toast in hand, collecting their coats, sometimes losing their toast en route. In trying to bring this classroom vividly before your eyes, I do not intend to trivialize what I have seen there, but to demonstrate that this classroom is a most exceptionally educative environment—a place, above all, of genuine intellectual search.

For example, pinned on the notice board behind a huge, comfortable, embracing sofa is a "New Words" list. Annabelle explains that on this list she and the children record words that the children have not met before. They are encouraged to mark these occasions, to interrupt the discussion or the story to ask for explanations and definitions, and to record the word in question on the list. On one visit, the list read thus:

amaryllis	toffee-nose
ferocious	energy
anxious	cauldron
transparent	nocturnal
gasp	series

These are not dead words, such as are found on many classroom walls, unread, unremarked, unremarkable. These words enter the children's thinking and expand their understanding; even the youngest 4-year-olds are caught up in this process. For example, during story time, a child notices that on the back of the book his teacher is holding up there is a list of books by the same author. Delighted, he calls out: "Miss, that's a series *there*, on the back of the book." Another day, at tidying up time, a child calls from the book corner: "Miss, we're tidying up the series!" One child confided to Annabelle: "Everything's a series really." When invited to say more, he obliged with a variety of examples—his family (his brothers and sisters, in order of age), the days of the week, the times on the clock, and so on.

On another visit, I recorded another list including the words:

oval	bouquet
environment	identical
S.O.S	impatient
cuboid	saint
nervous	calf

On this same visit, my notebook records that Annabelle told me that, in the previous term, the fathers of 4 of the 17 children in the class were serving prison sentences. As I digested this information and copied down the New Words list, I thought of the alarming finding of Tizard and Hughes (1984), in their small-scale nursery school study, that the teachers asked lower-level questions of the children in the

working-class sample than of those in the middle-class sample. The comparison is a telling one: there is little that is low level in *this* classroom. Incidentally, I had already noticed that Annabelle asks fewer questions than many teachers I have observed, although she did tell me about this exchange:

> AD: Where does a river start?
>
> Child: "r."

(Her comment to me: "34 years in the classroom and I'm still asking silly questions.")

The children ask good questions though, and follow them through in a search for understanding. For example, Adrian (5 years 2 months) said to Annabelle: "I think I've found something out (demonstrating with the binoculars he has been examining). There's two bits here (points) and two bits here (the eyepieces) and when you look, you only see one picture!"

Many of the children's questions are recorded in a class book, for future reflection and discussion. (For example: "Do cats have to chase mice in real life?" "Why do letters have names as well as sounds?") There are also individual investigations, fired by individual thinkers. I observed Ricky (age 5) collecting his maths book and settling down to write on a page already crammed with numbers:

> AD: Ricky, do you want to carry on?
>
> R: Yeah.
>
> AD: Really? Are you sure?
>
> R: Yeah.
>
> AD: (to me) This is the fifth day. He's discovering even numbers.
>
> (His book shows he has reached 748.)

Liam (6 years 2 months), who has different concerns, is working on a different project. The old bulgy and commodious sofa has been replaced by a new one, which is undoubtedly smarter and cleaner, but which only seats three children at a time. Liam is worried that some children are enjoying more than their fair share of this new privilege, so he has collected a printed copy of the class list ("one of my most useful resources," claims Annabelle) and a clipboard and is keeping a tally of who sits on the sofa and how often. His writing is stiff with inaccuracies, if seen in terms of letter formation, capital letters, or punctuation marks, but it is nonetheless effective in his personal project—social justice.

On the notice board next to the New Words list is a quotation from Wittgenstein (himself for a while an elementary teacher, in the 1920s, in small village schools up in the mountains south of Vienna): "The limits of my language are the limits of my mind." (Note 4) Annabelle's response to this apothegm is to structure much of her teaching around what she calls "tool-words." The first of these words to become important in her pedagogy was "problem," when she realized, some years ago, that without this word in their working vocabularies, children did not appreciate what was happening to them when they met a problem. She reasoned that if they could understand what kind of an experience a problem was, they would more readily deploy their intellectual and emotional energies in finding ways of solving it. And so it proved. Once her pupils had grasped that a problem (a disagreement with a friend, a technical difficulty in a construction project with the blocks, a puzzling observation of the natural world) could be understood as a challenge to their inventiveness and ingenuity, indeed could be relished, explored, and finally resolved, they were much less likely to walk away from problems, to abandon their projects, or to refer their disputes to adult authority.

Building on this discovery, and the children's appetite for more, Annabelle has developed a list of essential "tool-words" for children's thinking, which includes the cluster of concepts *identical*, *similar*, and *different*; the verbs *compare*, *remember*, *comment*, and *question*; and the nouns *imagination*, *team*, and *mystery*. During one of my visits, Annabelle showed me the work the class had been doing on the school's behavior policy document, which had recently been written in consultation with the older pupils, ages 8 to 11. Annabelle's response to the policy was to ensure that the key words used in the document could be understood by her much younger children: she accomplished this goal by building up working definitions of words, such as respect, drawn from the children's lives. A large sheet of paper recorded this work in progress:

> "Keeping secrets from people isn't respectful."
>
> "Swearing at people isn't respectful."

Annabelle overheard a child swearing quietly to himself one day, while searching his tray for a missing treasure. When he saw her, he stopped, with a guilty flush, but not because his teacher had heard him. "That's not respecting myself, is it?" he explained. My own notebook records Stephen (age 6) complaining to the whole class, gathered for a discussion, "People have been talking about my cold sore. That wasn't respectful."

In this classroom, respect is a key theme: respect for children's powers, for their emotional and intellectual energy. In Annabelle's teaching, this respect translates into a willingness to follow what she calls "the grain of their thinking," rather than trying to "teach against the grain." It is transparently clear, from minute to minute in this classroom, that there is a direct relationship between the lived curriculum, the first-hand experiences of these young learners, and the values of the educator who provides and organizes their experiences. It is the children's strengths that are valued, not their weaknesses. Their powers to do, to think, to feel, to understand, to represent, and to express are given space and time to grow. The curriculum that these children and their teacher construct together offers them both nourishing food and challenging exercise; the quality of the children's learning reflects their teacher's faith in their limitless potential to learn.

In presenting this brief description of one particular classroom in one particular school, I want to exemplify a much more general theme and suggest that what can be learned from such a classroom (and I have no doubt there are others like it, perhaps not identical, but similar) is the close and necessary relationship between values and classroom practice, between values and schooling, between values and the whole enterprise of education.

In my work as external evaluator for a number of local education authorities over the last 10 years, I have, inevitably, started from my own perspective as a value-infested educator, but I do not believe this perspective prevents me from trying to understand the values as well as the practices of other educators, those whom I am observing and whose effectiveness I have been charged with evaluating. In one such project, the Hampshire program of one-term entry to primary school (Drummond, 1995), I drew particular attention to one aspect of the findings from 200 hours of observation in 50 selected schools:

> The evidence suggests that in those classrooms where expectations of the children were high, the quality of learning was also high. When the activities made demands on children's powers to think, to solve problems, to imagine, to create, to build, to express themselves and to organise their work, the children responded actively and with enthusiasm. When the programme required the children to sit and listen for long periods of time, to follow instructions, to produce prescribed outcomes, the children met these expectations, certainly. But opportunities were lost for richer and more rewarding learning. (Drummond, 1995, p. 53)

This comparison, not unexpected but nonetheless important, has something to say about the need for high—but realistic—demands on children's intellectual and social powers. But I am suggesting here that the comparison has more than one lesson to teach. It also underlines the seriousness of our collective professional responsibility to make wise choices in the priorities that our classroom practices enact and embody. Which capacities of children do educators, and the educators of educators, really value? Do we, as a professional community, value young children most highly as independent, creative freethinkers or as people who keep silent when they have plenty to say, who walk when they would choose to run, and who sit up straight, with alacrity, whenever we ask them to? There are choices to be made in this domain, choices that are made every day in classrooms, corridors, assembly halls, and lecture theaters. They are choices worth examining, which is my justification for having taken this space to describe, however selectively, one classroom, one set of values, one set of practices.

School Three

As my article title suggests, the third school is a fictional one, although the selection of just one school in this category has been extremely difficult. It was with great regret that I abandoned the project of exposing the schools and schoolrooms where Ivy Compton-Burnett's fictional (and autobiographical) children are educated. (Note 5) Another possibility, grudgingly relinquished, was an exploration of the work of the contemporary writer Anne Fine (1993, 1994, 1996), a critical communicator on the sociological structures of schooling thoroughly in the W. A. L. Blyth tradition (see, for example, *How to Write Really Badly*, *Flour Babies*, and *The Angel of Nitshill Road*). There is a fascinating school in B. F. Skinner's (1962) utopian fantasy *Walden Two*, where the students are never graded and are not taught traditional subjects at all, only the generic skills of learning and thinking. Hardest of all to set aside was the school described by the great Polish educator Janusz Korczak (1992) in *When I Am Little Again*, a moving interpretation of a few days of classroom life as seen through the eyes of a child, the author himself, grown "little again."

The fictional school that I finally selected is Plumfield, which draws its inspiration from a real-life school, as of course all fictional schools do to some extent (except in William Morris's (1901) utopian novel, *News from Nowhere*, where there are no schools). Plumfield is the creation of Louisa May Alcott (1832–1888). It first appears in the second half of the double volume of *Little Women* and *Good Wives* (1868), at the very end of *Good Wives*; it is the central theme of *Little Men* (1871) and is still a successful school in the background of *Jo's Boys* (1886). The real-life school from which some of Plumfield's practices are drawn is the Temple School, a short-lived experiment in progressive education, founded and directed by Alcott's father Bronson Alcott, writer, transcendentalist, and friend of Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, and the amazing Peabody sisters.

The Temple School was not Bronson's first school, but it was undoubtedly the most visited and the most notorious. Bronson Alcott began teaching in 1825 in Cheshire, Connecticut, in a school regarded as alarmingly progressive, which lasted only 2 years. The school found some admirers in Boston, however, where, in 1834, after further failures in Philadelphia, Bronson opened the Temple School with 18 pupils, boys and girls between 5 and 10 years old. The walls were decorated with busts of Plato, Jesus, Socrates, Milton, and Shakespeare. Bronson modeled himself on both Jesus and Socrates, and his pedagogical approach was a combination of parable, sermon, and Socratic dialogue. His daily, hour-long conversations with the pupils were faithfully transcribed, as they took place, by Elizabeth Peabody and later by her sister Sophia (wife of Hawthorne). The first year's work was published in 1835 as the *Record of a School* (Peabody, 1835). One brief extract will give a flavor of these unique proceedings:

Alcott: Which was first in time, an acorn or an oak?

Child: Sometimes one is first, and sometimes the other. In the woods, oaks grow up wild; and you can plant acorns and have oaks.

Another child: I think God made oaks first, and all the other oaks there have ever been, came from the acorns of those first oaks.

Alcott: Does light prove darkness or darkness light?

Several: Each proves the other.

Alcott: Can nothing prove something?

All: No.

Child: I think darkness is something.

Alcott: Is darkness anything to your senses?

Child: No; it only seems so.

Alcott: What does it seem to be?

Child: It is the shadow of the light. (Bedell, 1980, p. 111)

The school prospered, and visitors flocked to listen and admire. However, when Bronson widened the scope of these conversations to include such topics as marriage, love, birth, and circumcision, the tide turned. A second volume of transcribed dialogues, *Conversations with Children on the Gospels* (A. B. Alcott, 1837), proved his downfall. This volume, according to the *Boston Courier,* was "a more indecent and obscene book (we can say nothing of its absurdity) than any other we ever saw exposed for sale on a bookseller's counter" (Saxton, 1977, p. 92). By the spring of 1837, the experiment was over, precipitated by the admission of a black child, Susan Robinson. This act of principle, by a convinced and passionate abolitionist, caused the parents of his few remaining students to withdraw their children.

Louisa May Alcott was born in 1832 and celebrated her third birthday party at the Temple School, wearing a crown of flowers and distributing cakes to the students. She and her three sisters, later to be known by generations of young readers as the four March girls (their mother's maiden name was May) were all educated at home by Bronson and so were intimately acquainted with Bronson's unconventional educational methods, which we find, 35 years on, transformed into the fictional Plumfield, most fully described in *Little Men*. Plumfield is an integrated, coeducational, inclusive boarding school, managed by the wild tomboy Jo March in her new role as the compassionate and motherly Mrs. Bhaer, wife of the German immigrant Professor Bhaer: "a happy, homelike place," Jo calls the school, at the end of *Good Wives*.

Little Men is unusual in Alcott's oeuvre in having next to nothing by way of a plot: the center of interest is the children and their daily lives. Plumfield's children, like the children at the Malting House school, are recorded in their totality, children as they really are—unique individuals who are at times, and by turns, mischievous, timid, sickly, spoiled, lazy, grouchy, courageous, teasing, compassionate, and—all of them—thoroughly loveable.

The following extract will introduce the school to those whose own childhoods were not infected with Alcott's imaginative powers. It is taken from the first chapter and reveals how the Plumfield experience bursts upon a new boy, Nat, who arrives late on a Saturday evening. Safely tucked up in bed, after a

luxurious bath and a hot sweet drink, Nat is startled by

> the sudden appearance of pillows flying in all directions, hurled by white goblins who came rioting out of their beds. The battle raged in several rooms, all down the upper hall, and even surged at intervals into the nursery, when some hard-pressed warrior took refuge there. No one seemed to mind this explosion in the least; no one forbade it, or even looked surprised. Nursey went on hanging up towels, and Mrs. Bhaer looked out clean clothes, as calmly as if the most perfect order reigned. Nay, she even chased one daring boy out of the room, and fired after him the pillow he had slyly thrown at her.
>
> "Won't they hurt 'em?" asked Nat, who lay laughing with all his might.
>
> "Oh, dear, no! We always allow one pillow-fight Saturday night. The cases are changed to-morrow; and it gets up a glow after the boys' baths; so I rather like it myself," said Mrs. Bhaer, busy again among her dozen pairs of socks.
>
> "What a very nice school this is!" observed Nat, in a burst of admiration.
>
> "It's an odd one," laughed Mrs. Bhaer; "but you see we don't believe in making children miserable by too many rules, and too much study. I forbade night-gown parties at first; but, bless you, it was of no use. I could no more keep those boys in their beds than so many jacks in the box. So I made an agreement with them: I was to allow a fifteen-minute pillow fight, every Saturday night; and they promised to go properly to bed, every other night. I tried it, and it worked well. If they don't keep their work, no frolic; if they do, I just turn the glasses round, put the lamps in safe places, and let them rampage as much as they like."
>
> "It's a beautiful plan," said Nat, feeling that he should like to join in the fray, but not venturing to propose it the first night. So he lay enjoying the spectacle, which certainly was a lively one . . . . A few slight accidents occurred, but nobody minded, and gave and took sounding thwacks with perfect good humour, while pillows flew like big snowflakes, till Mrs. Bhaer looked at her watch, and called out:
>
> "Time is up, boys. Into bed, every man Jack, or pay the forfeit!"

But not all the children's frolics are so innocent and lighthearted. Under the influence of Dan, one of the most challenging of Jo's little men, the boys learn to swear, to smoke, to drink, and to play cards. The downward spiral seems inexorable, until Tommy Bangs sets his bed on fire and they are all rescued and set on a straighter path once more. The boys (the girl pupils arrive later) spend extraordinarily little time in the schoolroom; far more important in their lives are the garden, the orchard, their dens, the trees they climb, their band, their story-telling, their menagerie, their museum, and the stream they regularly fall into. Through her descriptions of life at Plumfield, Alcott offers a perspective on curriculum that is at least as progressive as her father's. Essentially, it is a curriculum of relationships, constructed within a harmonious vision of what society might be—loving and inclusive, where children's growth and well-being, in the most comprehensive senses of those words, are central values.

Professor Bhaer teaches the children German, Greek, Latin, and Algebra, but Jo teaches what *she* knows: "lessons more important than any taught in school"—and yet it *is* a school in which she teaches these things. (Note 6) She teaches her little men to care for one another; she teaches them "honesty, courage, industry, faith in their fellow-creatures and in themselves." She imagines the world transformed by such an education:

> "Dear me, if men and women would only trust, understand and help one another as my children do, what a capital place the world would be" and Mrs. Jo's eyes grew absent, as if she were looking at a new and charming state of society.

Little Men can be read as an account of the good life, for adults and children, being lived in a good society, where the children largely educate one another. They do so through their turbulent and passionate relationships, as well as through their play, their shared imaginative explorations of the universe, and their intrepid physical explorations of the tops of trees and the tangled dark center of the

forest where Rob and Nat get so terrifyingly lost. Their induction into the good life, their education in the moral domain, is continuously carried out in every corner of Plumfield's sheds and gardens and orchards, as well as in the Socratic schoolroom, with its slates and textbooks. "Dear me," explains Jo, "half the science of teaching is knowing how much children do for one another and when to mix them." The dissolution of the boundaries between the home and the school makes Plumfield a society in miniature, a place that is humane enough for children to flourish in and to learn the real meaning of the humanities they study in their books.

Although some aspects of Plumfield are rooted in Alcott's own first-hand experiences, it is, essentially, a triumphant work of the imagination. In this imaginary school, Alcott shows us, not simply children's learning, but children's lives as they might be, if learning were coterminous with living, and if body and mind, thinking and acting, reason and passion, the one and the many could be educated together. Alcott sets these living, learning children into a different kind of school, more home than school, more society than home. Furthermore, into this "new and charming state of society," Alcott introduces a different kind of teacher. These teachers, according to Susan Laird, "work at the sidelines, as attentively participating observers, not at the centre as autonomous dictators of their students' learning experiences" (Laird, 1991, p. 283). And all this nearly 50 years before Dewey picked up his pen (*Democracy and Education* was published in 1916).

Conclusion

In this concluding section, I attempt to distill the lessons that I believe can be learned from these three schools; I do so as a way of emphasizing the need for the whole professional community of early childhood educators to take whatever help we can get to support us in the task of doing our own thinking, reflecting, and analyzing, rather than simply responding to the directions of others.

Earlier, I quoted Susan Isaacs: "I am interested in everything that little children do. . . . " This interest was strengthened by Isaacs' unshakeable conviction of the "desperate need of children to be *understood*" (Isaacs, 1933, p. 13) and of their equally burning desire to understand: "The thirst for understanding . . . springs from the child's deepest emotional needs . . . [it is] a veritable passion" (Isaacs, 1932, p. 113). Isaacs is outspokenly clear that some kinds of schooling, some parts of the education process as it was currently being practiced, could stifle this passion and crush this strong, spontaneous, constant impulse towards learning. The comparisons she makes between what is and what might be cannot have been comfortable reading for contemporary educators intent on maintaining the status quo. Only in the infant school, says Isaacs, "before children have been taught to separate learning from playing and knowledge from life, will you see the strength and spontaneity of the wish to know and understand" (Isaacs, 1932, p. 113). This act of *seeing*, she implies, is central to the work of the teacher.

I find it remarkable that in Isaacs' published work (her lectures to teachers have not, I think, been preserved), there is little to read about teachers and teaching. There are some exhilarating passages in *The Children We Teach* and a stirring letter, written in 1936, full of stinging criticism of what she saw in schools, which has a certain relevance for readers today:

> We teach reading and writing far too early, substituting sterile attempts to compose with the pen for living communication by word of mouth. Today the school deliberately deadens the child's (real) interest and idolatrises the formal tools of learning. (Gardner, 1969, p. 166)

But there is little by way of positive exhortation: her position is that teachers must start with children

and develop their thinking from there. In an examiner's report, for example, she writes:

> I do wish we could give up teaching these dreary old theories of play. It seems to me pathetic that students spend so much time on discussing Schiller, Groos, etc instead of . . . going direct to children at play and seeing for themselves what play does for children's development. (Gardner, 1969, p. 155)

This is where I believe Isaacs has most to teach us today—and tomorrow. The lesson to be learned from the Malting House school, and every line that Isaacs wrote about it, is that the starting point for effective educational practices is to attend, respectfully and systematically, to "everything that children do."

In describing Annabelle Dixon's classroom, I tried to demonstrate the relationship between an educator's core values and her pedagogical practices. In a sense, whenever teachers teach, and whatever else they teach, they always teach themselves. The lessons to be learned from making comparisons between the practices of different educators, from the present or the past, is that "why" questions, in answer to which we can establish the value base of our own work, are more useful than "what" and "how" questions. Asking "why" of others can lead to asking "why" questions of oneself. However, asking why questions, particularly of oneself, can take a considerable toll on the educator's sense of security and well-being. To ask oneself why is always to risk the Mother Hubbard effect: the cupboard of reason, rationale, justification, explanation may turn out to be bare. In effective classrooms, such as Annabelle's, the cupboard is well stocked. Practices can be justified. Arguments can be convincingly made about the importance of certain kinds of learning, about the power of children's thinking, about the activities and experiences that are most likely to strengthen those powers. Educators who can and do speak out as articulate advocates for children's learning are a most valuable resource for all other educators who are committed to the enterprise of coupling up their most dearly held educational beliefs with the routines and rituals of schooling, with their moment-by-moment interactions in the classroom. Understanding children and children's learning is not enough; effective educators understand themselves. Anyone who can help in supporting this process—and through courageous acts of comparison, every educator can help—is a most welcome member of a profession that has never ceased striving for quality, but has had, in recent years, limited opportunities to do this kind of thinking, this kind of work.

Finally, I used a fictional classroom, conceived in the imagination of an unjustly neglected 19th-century writer, to illustrate the abiding importance of this power in the lives of teachers and other educators. When, in other contexts, I try to put together arguments to establish the centrality of the imagination in the process we call early childhood education, I am often struck by the confidence and clarity with which other writers from outside this particular professional community make their case. Mary Warnock, for example, has this to say:

> I have come very strongly to believe that it is the cultivation of imagination which should be the chief aim of education, and in which our present systems of education most conspicuously fail, where they do fail . . . in education we have a duty to educate the imagination above all else . . . (Warnock, 1976, p. 9)
>
> . . . imagination is that (power) by which, as far as we can, we see into the life of things. (Warnock, 1976, p. 202)

The power to see into the life of things—and into the lives of both teachers and children as Alcott did—is an essential component in the professional capacities of educators of young children. These educators need to be strong in the exercise of their professional imaginations, not indulging in wishful thinking or planning in ever more precise detail their desirable curriculum outcomes, but seeing "into the life of things," seeing into the full-blooded lives of the children for whose learning they have taken on responsibility. To strengthen this power, I am arguing, educators need to commit imaginative acts of their own—in company with Alcott, or Anne Fine, or Janusz Korczak. These tutors of the imagination

can help us to see more plainly, and more deeply, if we do not take fright at the intimacy necessitated by such seeing or at the learning that might result from it. Isaacs wrote, in a late paper, in the context of children's lives, that learning depends on interest, and that interest is derived from desire, curiosity, and fear (Isaacs, 1952, p. 108). All these emotions are familiar to teachers too. They are all part of their most binding responsibilities: to learn more about children, teaching, and learning; to increase their understanding in the interests of children; to put that understanding to work for children. I have presented, in this paper, three of the lessons that will play a part in this learning: the lesson of looking, of seeing more plainly; the lesson of value, of learning to marry purpose with practice; and the lesson of the imagination, which teaches us to aspire (as Alcott did) to a more just and harmonious society, in our schools, in our shared futures.

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Notes

1. The National Froebel Foundation was founded in 1938 (by the unification of the Froebel Society and the National Froebel Union) and was responsible for the training and examination of teachers in Froebelian methods, awarding the Froebel Teacher's Certificate to its own students and to external students from, for example, the Froebel Educational Institute at Roehampton, Surrey.

2. This ritual is known as "taking attendance" in American classrooms.

3. I am enormously grateful to Annabelle Dixon for the many rewarding discussions I have had with her over the years and for the ways in which she has enriched my thinking and my understanding.

4. The exact reference, as I found when preparing this paper, is just as pithy and just as relevant to children's thinking and learning: "The limits of my language mean the limits of my world" (Wittgenstein, 1922).

5. Ivy Compton-Burnett (1884–1969), English novelist, wrote 20 idiosyncratic and powerful novels about domestic life in upper-class Edwardian families, some of which disturbingly resembled her own. Her recurring themes are power, selfishness, domination, cruelty, and criminality. The families she describes are peopled by a number of remarkably precocious children, whose teachers, tutors, and governesses are no match for them. The schoolroom scenes in these novels have much to say about the complexity and drama of pedagogical relationships.

6. In a useful commentary, Susan Laird, a leading feminist in curriculum studies, makes the thought-provoking observation that Mrs. Jo, as the children call her, is a school teacher but not a classroom teacher (Laird, 1991).

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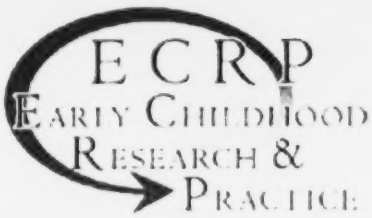
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EARLY CHILDHOOD RESEARCH & PRACTICE

Volume 2, Number 1

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Introduction

Lilian G. Katz

We are pleased to include a special section of articles devoted to the Project Approach in this issue. The articles address a wide variety of issues related to implementing the Project Approach in diverse settings with children as young as toddlers and as old as second-graders. Several articles remind us of the long history of the inclusion of project work in the curriculum and some of the perennial concerns that continue to be raised during its implementation.

Reaching back to Dewey's original formulation of the philosophy underlying the "project method," as it was widely known in its early days, Glassman and Whaley explore the importance of various goals, especially as they continue to emerge as very young children's work progresses. They also incorporate some of the major concepts learned from the infant and pre-primary schools of Reggio Emilia in their examination of the issues. Their discussion is illuminated by the inclusion of pictures of preschool children's investigations of shadows as well as younger children's emerging interest in a construction site.

Addressing state achievement standards as they apply to second-graders is amply illustrated by the work of two children in Dot Schuler's class as they proceed through the phases of project work in their study of interesting aspects of their hometown. Along similar lines, Helm and Gaye show us how issues of assessment in an educational environment that is increasingly conscious of standards of attainment can be accomplished without undermining children's intellectual engagement in their work.

McAninch, also tracing the underlying ideas of the Project Approach back to Dewey, alerts us to potential pitfalls in its application. Her discussion reminds us to be aware of the importance of how the content and knowledge should be treated in the course of project work, especially with the slightly older learners.

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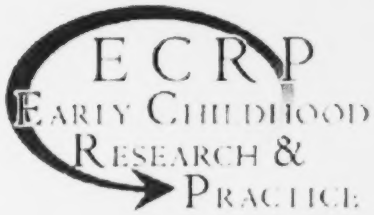
Beneke shares her experience of incorporating project work into the experiences provided to preschoolers whose participation in the class is irregular. Her examination of irregular attendance issues can help allay the fears of many preschool teachers who work under similar part-time attendance arrangements as we appreciate the experiences available to the children at Gingerbread House Nursery School (Princeton, IL), the Malden Early Childhood Special Education Program (Malden, IL), and the Malden Prekindergarten At-Risk Program.



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Dynamic Aims: The Use of Long-term Projects in Early Childhood Classrooms in Light of Dewey's Educational Philosophy

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Abstract

This paper explores the use of the long-term project as an educational tool in early childhood classrooms. In particular, it focuses on the way in which long-term projects can reflect John Dewey's notion of the "dynamic aim" as a primary force in education. In *Democracy and Education,* Dewey suggests that when teaching is dominated by specific goals, the educational process becomes static, and there is an unnatural separation between the activity the student engages in to reach the goal and the goal itself. Thus, the activity has no educational purpose beyond reaching this goal and does not teach the student how to learn beyond this very specific situation. Dewey suggests instead that education be based on a series of dynamic aims. The aims of the activity emerge from the activity itself, and they serve only as temporary beacons for the activity. As soon as an aim is achieved, that achievement creates activity leading to another aim. This paper suggests that long-term projects can be perfect vehicles for this type of approach to education. In particular, the paper focuses on the Reggio Emilia approach to long-term projects, which includes some important attributes such as documentation and *progettazione* (i.e., a discussion of the possible directions that the project might take based on observations of the children and past experience). The paper concludes with examples of long-term projects partially based on the Reggio Emilia approach from two American classrooms—one infant/toddler and one preschool.

Introduction

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An important question for early childhood educators is how they view their activity in the classroom: Are teachers of young children attempting to reach specific goals with those children, to bring them to some specific destination? Examples of this view of teacher activity can be found in the school readiness debate as well as in many thematic curricula. Or are teachers simply setting a context in which children seek their own purposeful direction, instilling in children an attitude of discipline towards activity that will be of use to the child in future important activities? This attitude of discipline engenders internal motivation on the part of an individual engaged in an activity to continue in that activity even when interest or attainment of a proximal worthwhile outcome is not immediately apparent. The only social/ecological force propelling the actor forward in the activity is foreseeable (but distant and perhaps even cloudy) worthwhile outcomes.

The above questions reflect some central points made by John Dewey (1916) concerning creating the best possible educational experience for children and the society in which they live. Dewey argued that education must be experience based, centering on ideals such as open-mindedness and discipline in aim-based activity. These ideals find a comfortable home in educational models that stress continuous practical activity over direct goal-based instruction. Dewey contends that we must teach children how to engage with the world on a practical level and trust them to construct their own knowledge through (successful) engagement in activities of a lifetime. An obvious vehicle for some of the issues that Dewey outlined in his philosophy, such as the combining of experience and thinking, interest and discipline, and the flexibility of aims, is the long-term project. In fact, teachers in the progressive movement that Dewey's philosophy spawned recognized the potential of using long-term projects to address Dewey's philosophy and established long-term projects as an important part of the curriculum (Katz & Chard, 1989). It is, however, not simply the choice of the long-term project as an educational strategy that is important; there are a number of dangers and difficulties inherent in the use of the long-term project that could move it far from Dewey's philosophy. The method in this case is as important as the strategy. One of the purposes of this paper is to put Dewey's philosophy into the context of a method for long-term projects (and education in general) developed by Reggio Emilia educators.

This paper is presented in three parts. First, we offer a brief outline of some of the Deweyan values that we think can be captured through the use of long-term projects as part of the curriculum. This section will be followed by a discussion of the teaching methodology developed by Reggio Emilia educators that we believe brings these ideals into the real-world classroom. Third, we will present synopses of two long-term projects—one in an infant/toddler classroom and one in a preschool classroom—that were brought to fruition through a combination of the methods developed by Reggio Emilia and strategies developed within the local classroom. Throughout the paper, we attempt to maintain the unity of method and context so important to Dewey and to successful curriculum in any classroom. When method is separated from content, it is only for purposes of observation. Methods only have meaning in the context in which they are employed.

Dewey and Activity

Dewey (1916) saw education as continuous process rather than as goal-directed activity. The emphasis on process, and the trust Dewey placed in the child as part of that process, fits easily with classrooms that employ long-term projects as a natural part of their curriculum. This emphasis suggests (or perhaps demands) the stressing of practical activity in the educational context. Part of the reason for practical activity is that process-based education is more concerned with fluidity, and interest inherent in the

activity, than with any particular goal or content of the activity. The role of interest and fluidity in practical activity is captured in Dewey's conception of aims.

Aims and Flexibility in the Long-term Project

Dewey believed that teachers must establish aims for children or, more appropriately, let children establish aims for themselves. But aims must not fall into the trap of becoming inflexible destinations. Destination, as Dewey (1916) defines it, creates two difficulties for an educative experience. First, any destination that is set up for an activity is separate from that activity. The activity actually devolves into two distinct parts: (1) the object that stands as some glowing end point outside of the child and (2) the activity that the child will use to reach this end point. A prime example is the use of flash cards for educational purposes. The goal of the teacher is to have children learn the alphabet. Each day the teacher holds up a flash card with a letter on one side and the picture of an object beginning with the letter sound on the other side. The teacher has the children identify the object and then identify the letter by sound. By the end of the year, the children have reached the goal of knowing the alphabet.

Although a "dualism" between activity and end point is detrimental at any point in a child's educational career (Dewey, 1916), we feel it is particularly disastrous in early childhood education. Children engaged in this type of "dualistic" educational activity may become less interested in the enjoyment of the activity itself and more interested in things obtained or achieved once the activity is complete. This approach might work in a rough manner as long as the educational institution is continuously able to set up objects of children's desire as the end point of activities. But as Dewey suggests, in a complex society, educational institutions cannot always do so.

The approach young children take in activity has far more importance than any particular content. Educators must make sure they provide an educational context in which children engage in activity for what it brings them at the moment; however, educators should not promote capricious activities that have no meaning beyond enjoying the moment. For activity to have meaning, there must be a temporal sequence leading to an aim. The meaning of the activity emanates both from what the child recognizes as leading up to the moment of the activity and what the child sees as developing through engagement in the activity.

The idea of a destination connotes an end or a stopping point. Dewey believed that inasmuch as activity in life did not have ends or stopping points, activity in education should not either. Any aim, once accomplished, immediately becomes a starting point for a subsequent activity. This characteristic of aims is another reason Dewey preferred the concept of aims to the concept of destinations. Children need to recognize that they are engaging in activity that will take them down the road a little bit further. Such an attitude on the part of teacher and child offers two important features to the educative process. First, such an approach enables the child to understand that the true purpose of an aim is identifying another aim-based activity. There is a temporal relationship between aims, with activity as the proactive force that binds them together. The term destinations suggests that once the child has finished the activity, it is over. Second, an aim-based approach establishes education as a lifelong activity rather than a time-delineated activity.

The teacher and child must work together to develop substantive aims in the educative process. The aims must be inherent to the educative activity itself, and they must be flexible. That said, it was also important to Dewey that aims be both definite and relatively complex. The development of aims is where the role of the teacher as both mentor and cooperative partner with the child becomes important. The teacher recognizes and suggests viable aims for children's activities, but the aims emanate from the activity itself and not from the teacher's belief system about where the activity should take the child.

The teacher must maintain maximum flexibility, while not being so elastic as to allow the activity to eventually become capricious. In other words, the teacher must enter into something akin to Vygotsky's (1978, 1987) zone of proximal development. The teacher recognizes possible aims for child-driven activity and sets them as proximate goals. But these goals are dynamic; as the child's activity changes, the teacher must be willing to let the goals change so that they optimally suit the activity of the moment.

Interest and Discipline

Coexisting with the idea of aims are interest and discipline. The common understanding of the zone of proximal development is that a social interlocutor sets an aim for the developing child that helps pull the child forward in his or her thinking (Vygotsky, 1978). The general relationship between mentor and neophyte is between the neophyte's everyday activities and the mentor's introduction of social/scientific concepts. The zone of proximal development is where these two meet in the thinking of the child (Vygotsky, 1987). The question that Dewey poses in any such relationship is twofold: (1) What is going to cause the child to engage in activity that will achieve this aim? (2) What is going to cause the child to persevere in this activity until the aim is achieved? These questions are not trivial—the whole concept behind the zone of proximal development is that the mentor is attempting to get the child to do something that he or she is not immediately capable of doing and that may be an extension of his or her way of thinking. Dewey's answers to the engagement and perseverance questions are interest and discipline.

For young children, interest is the easier of the two to deal with because young children tend to be naturally open-minded and curious. A first inclination of teachers often is to make activities more attractive through active teaching methods. A teacher attempts to make a target activity more interesting to students by offering them a goal, or an activity, of interest that is separate from that target activity. This goal or activity of interest serves as a proximal reward for engaging in the target activity or meeting the aim of the target activity. But, as mentioned earlier, offering a goal creates a "dualism" between the target activity and the aim of the activity (for example, attempting to teach the alphabet by turning the use of letters into a board game). Dewey labels this approach the "soup kitchen theory of education" (Dewey, 1916, p. 126). This solution is both short term (what happens to the child's interest in letters after the board game runs its course?) and more representative of the teacher's desire for the child to learn the alphabet than of the child's desire to learn the alphabet. Dewey argues that the material itself must be interesting. Interesting materials will draw out of the child the desire to both forecast results from activity and engage in the activity so that these results can be attained.

The partner of interest is discipline. Discipline is the ability to maintain energy in and focus on an activity in order to reach the aim. Discipline is the principle that allows the individual to overcome barriers and obstacles and see an activity through. An opaque aim, where an individual is not immediately aware of the purpose of an activity, must be considered a major obstacle. For instance, it is relatively easy to maintain an adolescent's interest in learning the mechanics of driving; the aims of learning the mechanics of driving are clearly visible (e.g., freedom of movement). It is far more difficult to create a situation where an adolescent maintains an interest in algebra; the aims of the activity are complex and difficult to recognize (e.g., a better understanding of the physical universe). The more distant the worthwhile outcome, the more opaque the activity, the more the need for an attitude of discipline. Discipline, in Dewey's frame of reference, is the ability to think about and reflect on actions, to think about where these actions might lead, and then to follow through on these actions in the face of obstacles, confusion, and difficulties.

How do teachers develop disciplined activity while at the same time maintaining interest in that activity? Central to this type of development is the natural curiosity and open-mindedness of young

children. It is easier to use these qualities if activities remain transparent and children are reminded of aims through mentor support. The best teachers recognize that the desires of young children are transient, and these teachers therefore keep their aims flexible. It is a dance, in many ways, between teacher and child, involving interest and discipline from both.

Education is generally a more utilitarian endeavor with young children. There is less of an emphasis on learning of specific, abstract, disciplinary subjects, and more of an emphasis on everyday education (Dewey, 1916). The combination of easily stimulated (though transient) interest/desire and an emphasis on practical activity enables teachers to locate and use specific purposes of everyday activity as part of their curriculum. The teacher is able to organize educational activity so that children are not only doing something, but they are engaged in activity based on desire that "requires observation, the acquisition of knowledge, and the use of constructive imagination..." (Dewey, 1916, p. 135). As Dewey (1916) notes:

> Given a consecutive activity embodying the student's own interest, where a definite result is to be obtained, and where neither routine habit nor the following of dictated directions nor capricious improvising will suffice, and there the rise of conscious purpose, conscious desire, and deliberate reflection are inevitable. (p. 350)

Experience and Thinking

It is incumbent on the teacher to constantly differentiate between mere activity and what Dewey terms experience. This differentiation is especially difficult because where teachers normally see inherent interest is in play, but the way teachers usually define and perceive play limits the activity as experience. Experience is the natural synthesis of mind and body. Individuals are physically active, and through this activity, they encounter some type of consequence. Vital experience must have some cumulative growth; it should involve experiments with the world that lead to the "discovery of the connection of things." Often, play is not seen this way by adults, especially when compared with more formal, planned lessons. Play is captivating, but it is also transient and "in the moment." Teachers often treat play experiences as separate from formal education or possibly use the materials as a means for introducing interest into what they consider formal education (e.g., deciding beforehand to use cars and ramps to teach children about gravity or relationships between mass and speed). This approach is representative of the aforementioned "soup kitchen" theory of education.

The teacher then has an enormous task in interacting with child-initiated activity so that it serves as vital experience for the child. The child must see experience as interconnected with past and future activities. Activity originates with the child, but it is guided by the teacher so that it is continuous and involves multiple, sequenced purposes. Education about issues such as the relationship between mass and speed naturally emerges through the activity itself. The child, in these circumstances, is not a scientist but an explorer, an active creator of knowledge rather than a passive recipient of knowledge.

Disciplined thinking emerges out of this continuous, interesting activity. The suspense, the doubt of what will occur next in personal exploration (e.g., will certain means achieve an end or will they not?), causes the child to approach the problem both "emotionally and imaginatively." The suspense of the activity drives the child forward. The uncertainty of the experience, combined with the child's desire to achieve a certain aim, cause the child to think about how the situation is unfolding. This type of demanding activity falls within Dewey's definition of play.

Both educational researchers and teachers need to keep learning over and over again that work and (true) play are two sides of the same coin. Work has direction and purpose, and play has direction and purpose. But in play the interest is more direct and individuals engage in the activity of play for its own ends, while in work individuals engage in activity for ulterior motives that are separate from the activity at hand. In other words, the aims of play are always transparent and tied to the activity. You play a

baseball game for a purpose such as having more runs than the other team upon its completion. You put together Lego pieces for a purpose such as having a completed structure of a spaceship. There is no purpose separate from the activity, no other motive for engaging in the activity. If there were, the activity would be work. Compare the activities of a builder putting together the pieces of a real bridge and a child putting together the pieces of a Lego bridge. As pure physical activity, the child's activity is a microcosm of the builder's activity, but the child's purpose and motivation are inherent in the activity itself. The consequences of the physical activity might be building a structure, the development of a peer relationship, and the development of an adult relationship. What is important is that the relationship between physical activity and consequences in play is apparent and can easily be judged. The builder may have ulterior motives for the activity, such as a paycheck to buy groceries.

Recognition of the proximity of play and work as activities helps teachers recognize the relationship between what they do in an everyday context and what the children in their classrooms do. There is often a dualism set up in the classroom between the teacher's activity and the child's activity that can be just as difficult as the dualism between mind and activity. The teacher is not shaping classroom activity but is engaged with the child in the same activity. The only difference is that while the child "plays" to reach the foreseeable aim, the teacher works to create a context for the child where he or she is able to use open-mindedness, natural curiosity, and concentration on purpose to achieve knowledge and discipline.

Deweyan Ideals Expressed in Classroom Activity

Dewey's philosophy sets aims for the educational experience that are often difficult to achieve. The child creates the activity and develops aims out of his or her own creation, but the teacher must maintain some control of the aims. The child's interest in the activity is paramount, and at the same time, the teacher must help the child develop discipline through the activity. To explain the difficulties, we return to Vygotsky's model of the zone of proximal development. There is the neophyte (child), and there is the mentor (adult). The aim of the adult still is to bring the child's understanding of her social and physical world forward through social interaction. But instead of the mentor introducing some determinant activity with a preconceived aim, he or she must wait for the child to engage in an activity of his or her own choosing. The mentor can present the child with different contexts, but the interest must come from the child. Once the child has chosen an activity, the teacher must determine whether it is capricious or has a purpose. The teacher makes this determination by recognizing potential interconnections that a given activity can have with other activities in the child's life. Once again, the purpose cannot come from the needs of the teacher but must come from the desires of the child. The development of purpose in educational activity will almost always involve some type of practical activity with an easily recognizable aim. The teacher must recognize the aim of the child's activity along with the child and maintain it as a goal of the activity, in spite of any obstacles that might arise. The teacher must also help the child to recognize that this aim is also a beginning for further activity; therefore, the teacher must engage in the same type of forecasting that the teacher is attempting to instill in the child. The teacher must recognize and accept any number of directions the activity may take and be flexible enough to appreciate and welcome a direction that did not occur to him or her. Throughout this process, the teacher must trust that the activity itself is bringing the child forward through its own momentum—not in the sense of a leading activity (Leontiev, 1981), but as a space, a context for the development of creativity and discipline.

Long-term Projects in Reggio Emilia

One place where it is possible to see many of Dewey's more abstract concepts in concrete action is in the pre-primary schools of Reggio Emilia, Italy. In particular, the Reggio Emilia approach to long-term projects and the ways in which documentation is used to support teachers and children engaged in these projects are very much in sympathy with the type of educational experience that Dewey was looking to establish in schools. The Project Approach, of course, is not unique to Reggio Emilia. It has been used in other educational forums and is well documented by Katz and Chard (1989). The Reggio Emilia approach, however, includes some important innovations such as *progettazione* (i.e., a discussion of the possible directions that the project might take based on observations of the children and past experience) and documentation that we believe allow it to come close to some of the ideals set forth by Dewey, as outlined above.

The long-term projects are initially established through the interests of the children. To choose a project topic, the teachers can provide activities of possible interest to the classroom and recognize when the children show a natural interest in the topic, or they can maintain an awareness of activities and things children develop an interest in on their own. An example of the former is offered by Rinaldi (1998), while an example of the latter is offered by Rankin (1998). In the Rinaldi example, the teachers asked children to bring back memories of their summer vacations. The teachers expected to hear stories about waves and sunsets and other vacation topics that an adult might normally discuss and find of interest. Instead, a child spurred the interest of the class by talking about "a crowd of legs, arms, and heads." The teachers recognized the word "crowd" as being of interest to the children and pursued the idea. It can be assumed that if the concept had not stirred interest, the teachers would have dropped it. The teachers set up the context for the children to express interest but were open to whatever and however the children did actually express interest. Discussion of family vacations was a possible aim of the activity, but it was not the only one.

In the Rankin example, the teachers took notice of dinosaur toys that young children would often bring to school and how spontaneous play often occurred around these toys. The interest in the dinosaurs became a good jumping off point for an educational activity. In other words, the activity of the children was recognized as something more than capricious activity. The experience was not simply a physical activity followed by a consequence without any judgment of the relationship between activity and consequence. The interest naturally fostered attempts at interconnectedness through secondary experience. The interest gave the activity educational potential. In the Rinaldi example, teachers accepted a direction that created interest for the children, even though the direction was not what they expected. In the Rankin example, the adults saw that they could use interest in an activity to help develop a vital educational experience that could involve discipline. In both examples, the interest of the child was the key to developing vital educational experiences that would eventually lead to an attitude of discipline, and the adults looked for interest from the children. Malaguzzi, the founder and one of the driving forces behind the Reggio Emilia programs, describes one of the essential elements of any project as producing or triggering "an initial motivation, to warm up the children" (Malaguzzi, 1998, p. 90). It is critical that the motivation is seen as coming from the activity in order for the activity to develop into a project.

Children's interest in a particular idea that emanates from their own activity, and the ability to see this activity as moving towards a foreseeable aim, is only the first step—both for a Deweyan model and for the Reggio Emilia model. (The teacher illuminates potential aims, but it is the child who recognizes the activity's actual aim.) The critical question becomes "how do you ensure that a foreseeable aim emerges and is maintained while at the same time making sure that any such aim comes directly from the children who are showing interest in the activity?" The Reggio Emilia model uses the technique of *progettazione* (Rinaldi, 1998); that is, before they actually embark on the project, as well as during the project, the adults involved come together and discuss various possibilities or directions that the project

might take based on observations of the children and past experience. In other words, they discuss the different types of foreseeable aims that the children might develop out of their activity. Two things occur simultaneously as a result of this type of discussion. First, adults come to understand that there are many different types of aims possible in the activity. This understanding gives the children the freedom to create their own aims in an open and free atmosphere (Rankin, 1998). From a Deweyan perspective, this understanding does something else at least as important—it develops a context where there *will be an aim*, where there will be the development of *an attitude of discipline*, so that the individual can engage in activities with more long-term aims. The activity belongs to the child, but the adults make sure that aims recognized by the children through activity are maintained. The maintenance of an aim for the activity can take the shape of provocative questions or activities that allow children to express their thinking at those moments (e.g., writing or drawing about the issue).

The maintenance of the aim still does not make the project a true educational experience in the Deweyan sense. There needs to be a way for the children to understand that aims are in temporal sequence and that accomplishing one aim leads to another activity that naturally (but not necessarily) follows it. In many ways, this ideal might be the most difficult of Dewey's ideals to achieve. Yet a sense of discipline and an understanding of how the mind works in activity are difficult to achieve without a natural momentum in activity. Reggio Emilia educators seem to have developed at least a partial method for dealing with this challenge in their idea of documentation. Documentation involves careful representation of the course of the project through photographs and other observations of the children as they engage in purposeful activity, as well as examples of the children's work. Documentation may be the most unique, and possibly the most important, aspect of the Reggio Emilia approach (Katz, 1998).

In the crowd project described by Rinaldi, the children of the class became interested in drawing people in a crowd in different ways, and an aim of the activity became the ability to draw in profile. The teachers put one girl in the middle of a group and had other children draw her from all sides. The children were able to understand that the girl could be viewed from four sides. The adults then took the children outside of the school where they were able to observe and photograph people coming and going. The children simultaneously engaged in the activities of observing a crowd and being part of a crowd. The children were then shown the slides a few days later and were able to enjoy "those images, moving through their reflections" (Rinaldi, 1998, p. 125). A child drew a multi-person picture in profile, and the aim became an activity with the aim of creating a collage of a crowd. In the dinosaur project described by Rankin, teachers used transcribed text of conversations about dinosaurs to remind the children about what they thought about the size of dinosaurs. The aim of the children's activity had been to create a structure that resembled a dinosaur in shape. The adults, through documentation, were able to have the children take that aim and use it as a springboard for activity with the aim of creating a structure that resembled a dinosaur in size.

Documentation in many ways exists as a living diary of a project. One of the most important aspects of documentation is that it is shared with the children engaged in the project over the course of the activity. This sharing is done to stimulate interest and reinvest the activity with motivational force. The children "become even more curious, interested, and confident as they contemplate the meaning of what they have achieved" (Malaguzzi, 1998, p. 70). One of the major aims of the educative experience, in Dewey's view, is to teach younger children discipline through their natural interest and curiosity in things. What documenting activity and sharing it with the children does is use the discipline they developed through engaging in the activity to reactivate their interest. The children involved in the project are offered a representation of how their purposefulness achieved aims and how those aims in turn became activities. An important activity cycle begins to emerge: interest leads to discipline, the discipline allows the development of interest. This cycle means that at the core of learning/development, especially for young children, is the need to maintain interaction between these

two complementary aspects of activity (discipline and interest). The activity must be interesting enough that children voluntarily wish to engage in it as vital experience. The aim of the activity itself must be worthwhile enough that upon reaching it, children are willing to overcome obstacles (including momentary loss of interest) in order to achieve a subsequent, interconnected aim (i.e., discipline). Interest must always lead to aims that highlight the value of discipline. Aims achieved through discipline must, in turn, reinvigorate interest. The teacher should try to maintain this cycle as long as possible (so that the learning experience becomes a microcosm of life experience). The teachers use documentation in much the same way during their meetings. The maintenance of interest through documentation is of major importance for Dewey, for as we grow older, much of our open-mindedness and natural curiosity fades, and all we are left with is our discipline in seeing a project through in order to create interest.

Methodology in Activity: Two Examples of Long-term Projects

In order to better portray some of the ways long-term projects can be used as part of an early childhood education curriculum, we present two examples with two different age groups. The first project we present is based on preschoolers' interest in shadows. The second project involves infant/toddlers' interest in construction. The classrooms we discuss in this section are different from those in Reggio Emilia in some fundamental ways. First, these classrooms are in the central United States rather than northern Italy. The teachers and the children bring very different everyday concepts to activity from those that might be found in the Reggio Emilia ecology. Although we believe that these classrooms and the Reggio Emilia classrooms were working within very similar versions of what Vygotsky (1987) termed "scientific concepts" of education and the long-term project, these scientific concepts interacted with different everyday concepts. The differences may have been even greater because these classrooms were part of a university laboratory school. Both Reggio Emilia teachers and the teachers described here believe it is important to take the children out into a larger "natural laboratory," but Reggio Emilia teachers use the city as a laboratory, while the teachers in the school described here use the sprawling campus of the university.

Second, the classrooms discussed here were mixed-age classrooms rather than single-age classrooms. Mixed-age classrooms present certain difficulties and certain advantages in project development that may be apparent in our descriptions. Third, the infant/toddler example involves age groups much younger than are usually found in discussions of long-term projects. We feel that involving even very young children in project work is highly representative of Deweyan philosophy in that it shows the seamless thread of lifetime education. Long-term projects are meaningful for the youngest and the oldest possible students because the projects emphasize the process of education rather than the content.

The descriptions of the projects that follow were derived from a variety of sources. Teachers in both classrooms regularly kept informal journals and notes about activities that occurred in their classroom. These notes were used to reconstruct the descriptions of each of the projects. In addition, small tape recorders were used to record conversations between children during the course of their activity. These tapes were then transcribed and were used as a data source.

Documentation panels comprised of the text from teacher notes, conversations between children (or a combination of both), and photographs of the children's activities were also utilized for these descriptions. In the infant/toddler classroom, the documentation for the construction project took the form of several "big books" that teachers, children, and parents could revisit in the same way they would read through any book. These books also included transcripts of conversations between parents and children in the classroom taken from the small tape recorders that parents took with them in their

cars on the drive home. In addition, these books included documentation by the parents concerning their children's interests in construction that parents had observed at home. Documentation of the preschool project was completed on individual panels and by taking slides that could be shown in the classroom. Thus, both the teachers' and the children's voices are interwoven throughout the descriptions that follow.

Shadows in the Tent

The preschool class (20 children, 3-5 years of age) was interested in camping. The teachers had introduced a class camping trip to bring the families closer together as a community, and the teachers decided to follow through on the children's interest. The children mentioned that they wanted to put up a tent in the classroom and bring in flashlights just as if they were on a trip. They believed that flashlights were something you had to have while on a camping trip. The teachers encouraged this activity, expecting that it would lead in the direction of dramatic play involving camping. While the children were playing with the flashlights inside of the tent, they began to notice the shadows that they were creating on the ceiling and the walls. Soon they were moving their heads in front of the flashlight to create more interesting shadow effects.

The teachers noticed the intense interest that the children were showing in the shadows. These events coincided with some beautiful autumn days, so they decided to take the children on some "shadow walks" around the campus. The teachers were very aware of the questions the children were asking with their eyes and their bodies as they suddenly became more aware of the shadows they were creating. There was interest in a natural phenomenon that had not been there before (or at least had not been expressed).

The teachers combined the walk with a number of "challenges" to the children to help guide their natural interest. The addition of challenges is, in many ways, a subtle method of introducing discipline into interest. The children are encouraged to take their interest and use it to achieve an aim. The challenges become progressively more difficult, one building on the other, so that children are both successful in achieving aims and in realizing that one aim immediately leads to another activity and another aim. The teachers gave the children a number of challenges:

- Think about where your shadows would be. Go to a place where you think you'll see your shadow, where you think you won't see your shadow.
- Try and make your shadows touch (Fig. 1).
- Try and make your shadows touch without your body touching.

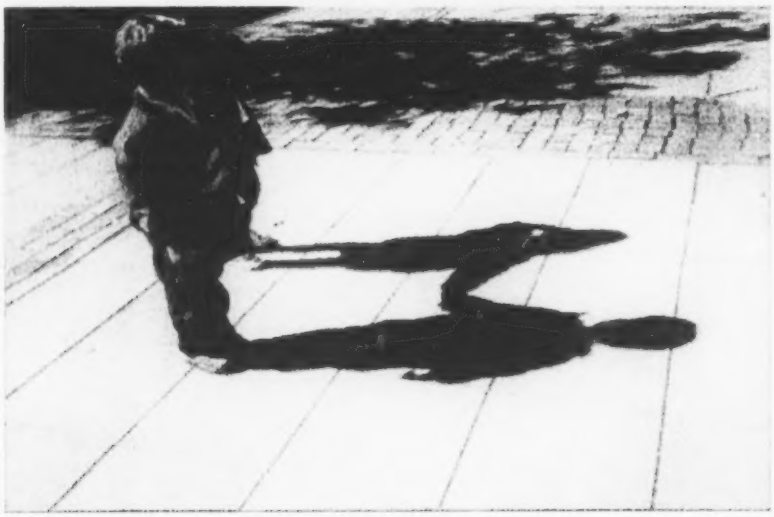

Figure 1. The children held hands to make their shadows touch.

The challenges helped the children to become engaged in the activity as an aim-driven activity rather than as simply an interest-driven activity. The aims came directly from the activity, and they caused the children to develop their own aims such as "making the shadow be in front of you" and "making the shadows be in back of you."

After the walk, the teachers moved to small group work. Small groups are part of the Reggio Emilia philosophy on group projects (Malaguzzi, 1998), but small group work in this preschool pre-dated knowledge of the Reggio Emilia program. One of the reasons for small group work in this classroom is the disparity in developmental levels of the children in the mixed-age classroom. Small group work is meant to limit differences in the children's zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1987), but it also limits the degree to which older children can serve as mentors to younger children. It is difficult to know how Dewey would view small groups based on developmental differences. Dewey (1916) was a strong champion of both diversity and maintaining a "real-world" atmosphere. Schools are one of the few places that artificially segregate by age.

Two groups of approximately four children each were created to work on discussions and to explore the potential for more difficult, discipline-based problems in the activity of interest. The two groups were divided according to age and developmental abilities. The younger group (which was completely male) used documentation from the class shadow walks to spur interest. Pictures of the walks were put together in a book along with observations the children made about their shadows. The teacher in charge of this book was able to use the combination of the pictures and the children's own words to help them develop questions, ideas, and interests.

The question in which children showed the most interest was whether shadows could move. The children decided that some shadows could move and some shadows could not move. The teacher took the children outside again, but this time, instead of observing their own shadows, the children observed the shadows of other things. The aim became to see if shadows of different things could move. The children found shadows that they thought were permanently fixed, and they made chalk drawings of the shadows. They then revisited the chalk drawings and were able to conclude that the shadows moved while they were away.

The achievement of the aim naturally led to another activity involving the movement of shadows. The

children in this group returned to making shadows with artificial light. The teacher set up a spotlight and challenged the children to make shadows with their own things. The teacher expected the children to become interested in the size or the intensity of the shadows. Instead, the interest turned social, with children becoming interested in layering each other's objects (e.g., using shadows to put a tail on an object by layering two objects against the light). The friendships of the children came into play, and they became more interested in working together to create different shadow patterns than the shadows themselves. There was a discussion about the content of the shadows. One of the younger boys suggested that shadows have bones, but he was quickly convinced by his friends that they do not.

The second group was composed of more developmentally advanced children. There were actually two groups—an older mixed-gender group that was shown the same documentation as the younger group, so that they had a chance to cement their thinking and suggest directions for further exploration, and a completely female group that engaged in activity based on those conversations.

The teacher had the children draw pictures that represented shadows. From the drawings, there was a discussion on where the shadows would be in relation to people. The teacher leading this group took a piece of paper and split it down the middle. On one of the pieces of paper, she put a shadow, while she left the other one blank (Fig. 2). On the paper with no sun, the children drew no shadows or shadows that could barely be seen. The teacher then built a bridge with toy building blocks and challenged them to draw a shadow (Fig. 3). The children drew the shadows as if they were coming towards them. The teacher asked what would happen if the sun moved, but this concept was too confusing for the children. The children lost interest in the project. The teacher, feeling that there was nowhere to go with the project without the children's interest, decided that there was little to be gained in pursuing shadow issues at that time.

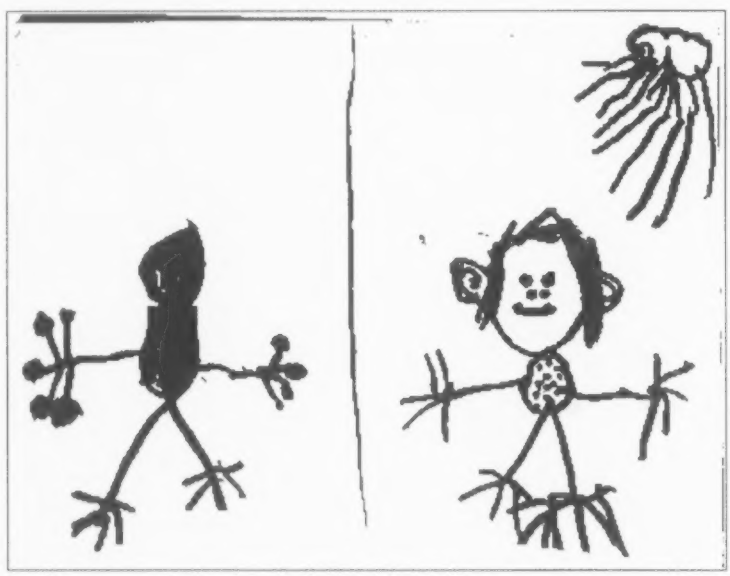

Figure 2. A child's drawing of a shadow.

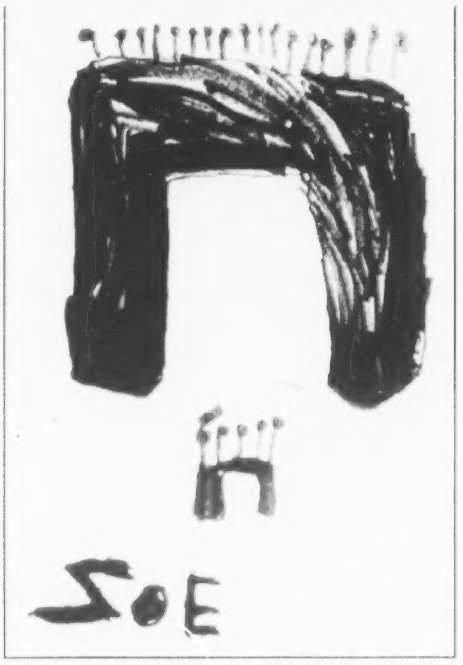

Figure 3. A child's drawing of a shadow of toy building blocks.

Constructing Construction

The playground for the infant/toddler class (10 children, 6 weeks to 3 years of age) was being torn down by the city in order to replace sewer lines that ran underneath the area. The playground, which had been an important part of the everyday lives of the children, became a full-fledged construction site. The teachers and the children often passed the construction site on walks or as they came into and left school. One of the oldest students (2.7 years) would stop by the construction site each day with his father and then come in and talk about it with his classmates. The teachers, noticing the interest that the children were showing in construction activity, brought more blocks and small construction vehicles into the classroom. The older children in the classroom began carrying vehicles around, showing them to the younger children and telling them what they were ("Gack-o's" for backhoes and "Bull-D's" for bulldozers). The children also started incorporating the vehicles into activities at the sensory tables, bringing them to the lunch tables and parking them close by during nap time.

The teachers took a twofold approach to the children's burgeoning interest. They took the children on a number of walks, both to the original construction site and to other construction sites around the campus (Fig. 4). They also engaged in a form of *progettazione*. There was an interesting difference between the way the infant/toddler teachers used *progettazione* and the way it was used by either the Reggio Emilia teachers or even the teachers in the preschool classroom. The teachers developed planning sheets to track their brainstorming about the project based on their observations of the children, and they then used these sheets to guide planning and discussion. What is different about the infant/toddler classroom is that the teachers seemed to focus much more on materials. The materials would elicit interest from the children, and the interest would guide the activity. The teachers would introduce materials such as plaster of paris or popsicle sticks into the environment, or arrange rides for the children in vehicles, and then see how the interest, if there was interest, drove them into some type of disciplined activity.

Figure 4. The children visited a construction site on campus.

The disciplined activity emerged as a construction site developed solely through the actions of the classroom children themselves. The children started the site on their private courtyard (Fig. 5), and while the teachers brought in some materials, they encouraged the children to ask for what they thought they needed. The children began to ask for the same materials they saw on the construction sites they visited; they wanted yellow construction tape around the site and wore hard hats and gloves while they worked (Fig. 6). The children were establishing through their own activity a merging of interest and discipline. The older children externalized this merging by drawing the younger children into their activity, showing them the materials and talking to them about what was happening.

Figure 5. The children developed their own construction site.

Figure 6. The children asked for the materials they saw on the construction sites that they visited, including hard hats.

The teachers continued to take the children out into the world, visiting construction sites and talking to the workers. The teachers documented much of the project with pictures and videotapes, creating large portable books of the children engaged in different activities. The children were able to take the books

home and to discuss them with their parents. This strategy helped to create a second line of interest where children interacted with their parents. Many of the parents reported having long conversations with their children concerning construction, creating a second line of discipline as well. The teachers brought the parents into the documentation process by offering them the opportunity to borrow the small classroom tape recorder and the classroom camera so they could record conversations in the car and stop to photograph construction sites in their own neighborhood. The documentation by the parents was melded with the documentation by the teachers. The interaction between the two types of documentation created further excitement and interest when the parents and children saw things that "belonged" to them displayed in their documentation. One child went as far as to develop his own construction site in his living room at home.

The project took a number of twists and turns that the teachers did not expect. Near the end of the project, some of the children started to become interested in baseball. The teachers expected the children to move on to other interests. Instead, the children combined their interests, first building a baseball parking lot on their still-active construction site and later building a baseball field. After about 6 months, one of the children came into the classroom and said the teachers had to go out and take a picture "Now!"—the construction project on the playground was complete. Soon afterward, the children completed their own construction site in the courtyard. The construction fence came down, the signs were put away, trucks came back in, and the construction was complete.

Discussion

The use of long-term projects in the curriculum can be very useful, especially in bringing many of the educational ideals that Dewey envisioned to fruition, but it is fraught with perils and demands great attention and energy on the part of teachers. The teachers must, in a sense, become learners along with the children. The teacher has to be careful to not act as a mentor but as a guide; that is, the teacher cannot think solely in terms of a prearranged destination to activity but must focus on offering a sense of discipline to the activity. *Progetazzione* offers an interesting variation on Dewey's proverbial "lighthouse" (i.e., the teacher sets up the lighthouse to help guide the activity of the student). The lighthouse itself sets a destination, but it also illuminates enough area that students may find port in a different, unanticipated place. Teachers should direct a wide beam of light in their attempts to illuminate areas where children might find their aims. They must be flexible enough to accept the aims that children find through their own activity. In Dewey's (1916) developmental framework, it is young children who are better able to find the interest even in the seemingly most mundane materials and activities; it is the adults who are able to infuse these activities with discipline so that they maintain the momentum that allows for discovery. Children and adults should be able to use each other's strengths in the development of activity, to feed off of each other and become co-creators in true joint activity.

One of the reasons joint activity where the teacher acts purely as guide is so difficult is because teachers so often want to be mentors. The idea of mentorship is prevalent in many aspects of social relationships in our society. We believe that parents should teach children the right way to do things, that teachers should teach students the right way to do things, that managers should teach subordinates the right way to do things. It is difficult and frightening to escape the notion of teacher as mentor, especially as children move into society. Both consciously and unconsciously, we think it is the teacher's role to offer the neophyte the particular types of knowledge that will allow him or her to succeed in the larger social milieu (Vygotsky, 1987). This assumption is apparent in the two examples from the university preschool offered above. The long-term project in which the teachers were most successful acting as guides, rather than mentors, was conducted with the youngest children. The teachers genuinely became

co-learners with the children, exploring topics that neither of them knew very much about. It was the children who had complete control of the activity. The teachers maintained discipline and were able to set up parallel relationships that engendered discipline (with the parents) through documentation. But the children's interest had so much control over the direction and the aims of the activity that even *progettazione* was primarily concerned with materials that could elicit aims, rather than aims themselves.

The older the children got, the more difficult it seemed to become for the teachers to maintain a non-mentor/guide relationship with the children. The younger children in the preschool shadows project were able to maintain moderate control over their activities. But the teacher of the older group of children seemed somewhat intent on bringing the children towards a specific destination through activity. The differences became apparent in how quickly the children lost interest in the projects as the teacher became more intent on instilling not only discipline but destination.

This discussion leaves some important questions that educators need to ask themselves in using Dewey's philosophies or long-term projects in their classrooms. Is the guide relationship between teacher and child possible with older children? If it is not, is the reason social/historical, or is it the result of the ontogenetic development of the child? Are teachers unable to take a guide approach to the education of young children because non-mentor teaching relationships are so rare in the everyday activity of our society (Vygotsky, 1987)? Or does the development of the thinking of the child force teachers into a mentor-like relationship?

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The Project Approach: Meeting the State Standards

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Grafton Elementary School

Abstract

This paper suggests that when engaged in project work, children apply most of the skills identified in the age-appropriate state learning standards. To illustrate how good-quality project work addresses the Illinois state learning standards, this paper describes a project conducted by a second-grade class on their community—Grafton, Illinois. The paper focuses on two children who, as part of the Grafton project, studied churches in the community. The paper describes the project's three phases and discusses how, through the process of investigating a topic of interest to them, representing their new knowledge, and sharing their work with others, the children applied the skills identified by the Illinois state learning standards as necessary for early elementary school students.

Introduction

According to Lilian Katz and Sylvia Chard (1989), a project is an in-depth investigation of a topic worthy of investigation in the students' immediate environment. By using the Project Approach to complement other parts of the curriculum, teachers can create a learning environment in which state learning standards for elementary students are addressed in an integrated and meaningful way. For example, when they are engaged in project work, children will meet many, if not most, of the state of Illinois standards for several domains in the process of investigating a topic of interest to them, representing their new knowledge, and sharing their work with others (see the Appendix for a partial list

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of Illinois Learning Standards for Early Elementary Grades). In addition to the skills applied in project work, other skills can be taught systematically and practiced during the course of a project. Project work intrinsically meets many of the Illinois state standards, even before considering the content of the project. Therefore, by also attending carefully to the standards relevant to the content of the project, teachers can be assured that project work is a good-quality instructional strategy that encourages children to practice and apply an abundance of skills. This article describes how a project on their community conducted in a second-grade classroom in Grafton, Illinois, helped two children meet many of the state standards for their grade level. Although this article focuses on two of the children in the class, all of their classmates had similar opportunities to acquire knowledge and practice and apply skills required in the state standards.

Project Work

Project work provides a context in which individual children or small groups of children choose an area of study that appeals to their interests and pertains directly to the project topic chosen by the class. The teacher facilitates the work as children progress through the three phases of a project (see Katz, 1994; Chard, 1998a, 1998b). In Phase 1, the teacher and the children create a topic web, or concept map, based on a discussion of the teacher's and children's knowledge and ideas related to the project topic; share personal stories; and spend ample time discussing various aspects of the topic and wondering about it. As they share their thoughts about the topic, questions arise. These questions remain open for discussion and are documented by the teacher for future reference.

During Phase 2, the children collect data (e.g., take notes, make sketches, count, and measure) during field experiences planned by the teacher. In addition, guest speakers may be invited to the classroom to answer the children's questions on the topic while they record the answers. Again, questions arise, and children begin to focus on their own areas of interest.

After choosing their area of study within the topic, children begin to seek answers to their questions as they explore, experiment, interview, survey, or use secondary sources such as books, the Internet, and encyclopedias. When sufficient data have been collected, the children choose the best modes to represent their findings (e.g., graphs, diagrams, writings, models, charts, mobiles, or murals). Along the way, they frequently share their progress with peers, teaching them what they have learned and accepting their comments and suggestions for improving their work.

In Phase 3, the culmination of the project, the children share their work with families, peers, and school and community members. State standards are met, not only through the content of the project, but through the processes of investigation and completion of products that reveal what the children have learned.

To better show how good-quality project work addresses the state learning standards, in this paper I follow two children from our second-grade classroom who took part in a project on our community—Grafton, Illinois. The Grafton project began on December 1, 1998, and ended on March 11, 1999. As part of the project, two of the children, Mark and Nora, expressed an interest in learning more about their own church in the community, St. Patrick's Church. After collecting data on their church, they decided to compare and contrast St. Patrick's Church with two other churches in the community. By following the Grafton project through each of its three phases and studying examples of the children's work, one can see clearly the goal of project work: to learn more about a worthwhile topic and to use a wide variety of skills while engaged in learning and recording the findings.

Phase 1

To begin Phase 1, the second-grade class made a topic web, or concept map, based on a discussion of the teacher's and children's experiences, knowledge, and ideas related to the Grafton community. The web was composed of small pieces of paper with words or phrases written on them by the children. The words or phrases were shared as a group to avoid repetition on the web. During our group sharing, we also concurred on various categories in which to organize the ideas. After printing the words or phrases on the pieces of paper, each child glued his or her own ideas near the appropriate categories (Fig. 1).

After completing the web and displaying it in the classroom, the children proceeded to brainstorm various ideas about our community, responding to several open-ended questions that I posed: "What is good about our community?" "What is bad about it?" "Where is it?" "How big is it?" "Why is it important?" "What would we do without it?" Working in cooperative learning teams and contributing answers for each question, the children then documented their collective ideas on class charts (Fig. 2). The charts were also displayed in the room for reference. As the children developed the topic web and class charts, working together to "communicate ideas in writing to accomplish a variety of purposes," they applied English/Language Arts skills identified in Goal 3 of the Illinois Learning Standards.

Figure 1. Children are engaged in writing for the purpose of generating and organizing ideas.

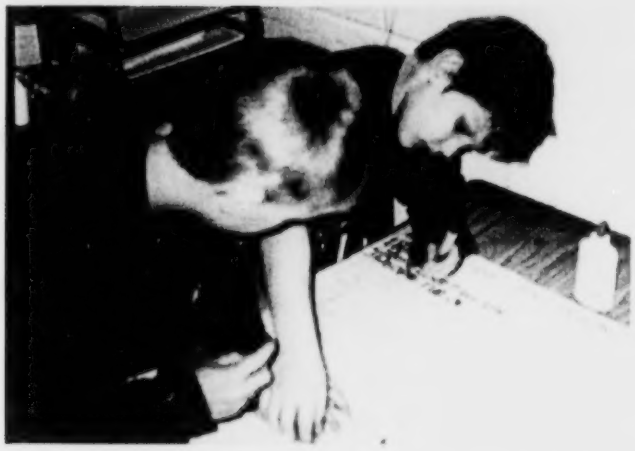

Figure 2. Cody and John work together on a chart, which documents the collective ideas of their classmates on "What is bad about Grafton?"

After listening to my personal story about Grafton, the children, participating in cooperative learning teams of four members each, worked in pairs as they told personal stories related to the topic. Ample time was given for them to ask each other questions about the stories. Using the "Three-Step Interview" cooperative learning structure (Kagan, 1992), the children paraphrased their partner's story and shared it with the rest of the team. Then they wrote the stories in learning centers. The stories were revised, proofread, and "published" for display (using best handwriting and correcting all mistakes). Our district, and many others, use what is called the five steps to good writing: Prewriting (making plans such a webbing), First Draft (getting ideas down on paper without conventional spelling or best handwriting), Revisions (making changes), Proofreading (checking for mistakes), and Publishing (using best handwriting and correcting all mistakes). After reading the stories aloud and sharing illustrations at group meeting, the children displayed the stories in the hall. Mark's personal story was about dining out at Ruebel's Hotel, a local restaurant and hotel that has been in our community since 1884 (Figs. 3 & 4).

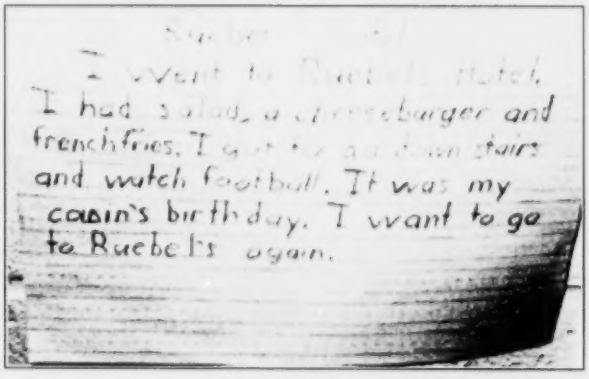

Figure 3. Mark's published personal essay is in the hall for peers, teachers, and passersby to enjoy.

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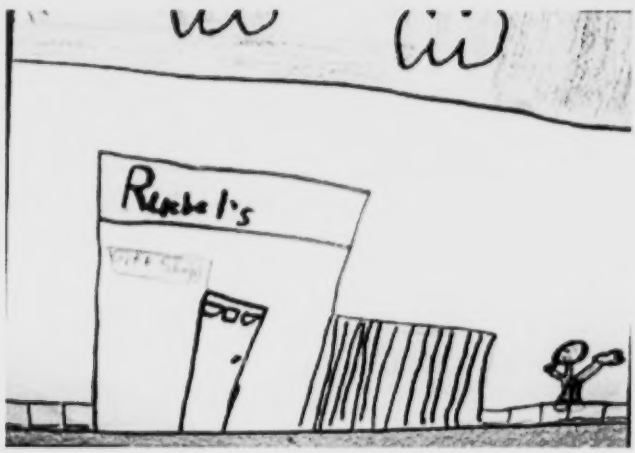


Figure 4. Mark's illustration accompanies his personal essay.

From these examples of Mark's work, it can be seen that English/Language Arts Goal 1, Goal 3, and Goal 4 of the Illinois Learning Standards are addressed by sharing personal stories in the first phase of the project. By telling a personal story to his partner, Mark has presented a brief oral story to an audience. His partner listened attentively and paraphrased what he said by retelling his story to the rest of the team. Teammates had opportunities to ask questions as they each participated in the team discussion of personal stories about a common topic—their community. Mark's published personal narrative shows that he has used "correct grammar, spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and structure" to compose a well-organized personal narrative. He read it aloud to his peers "with fluency and accuracy." In addition, skills identified in the Illinois Learning Standards related to Social Science Goal 18 were practiced as peers demonstrated an understanding of "the roles of individuals in group situations."

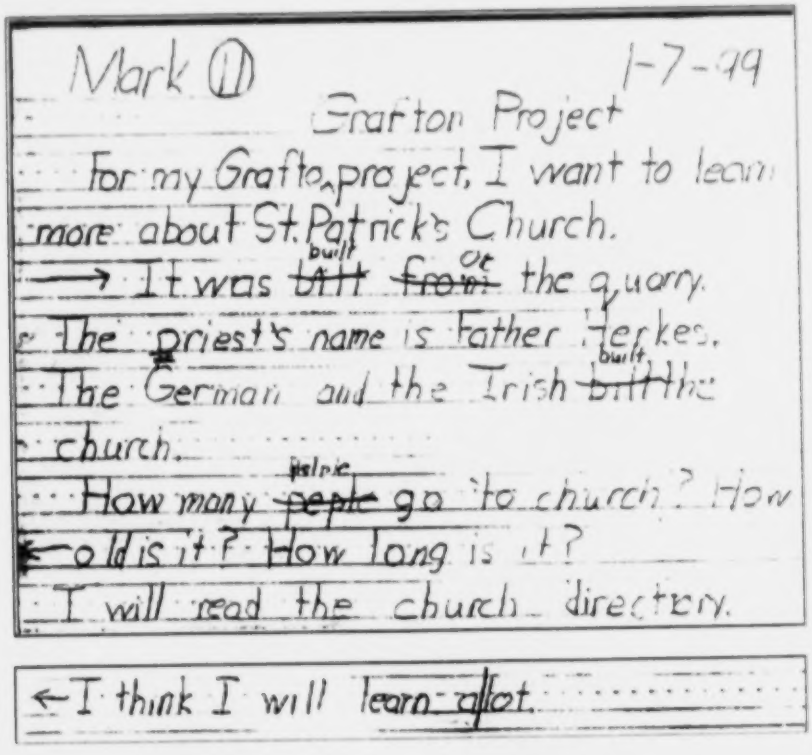
Phase 2

Having completed and displayed our web, personal stories, and charts that documented our ideas on the topic, we began Phase 2 with several walks around the community to collect data. The data included observational drawings of buildings, notes (observations as well as answers to prewritten questions of interest), measurements of buildings, photographs, videotape, and pamphlets distributed at several community locations. The mayor of Grafton visited our classroom as well, telling us about the history of our town, sharing old photographs of buildings, and answering questions. Many of the children had already decided on their area of interest for investigation. Whenever possible, they asked questions pertaining to their subtopic of interest. After taking notes, whether from a field experience or a visiting expert, we gathered at the carpeted area in our classroom where we held our group discussions. Taking turns, each child contributed one of his or her notes while the teacher wrote the note on a large sheet of chart paper. Children who had written the same note would put a check mark beside it to eliminate repetition. By continuing in this manner until all notes were documented, we had a collective set of notes to be displayed and used for reference. Again, English/Language Arts skills stated in Illinois Learning Standards Goals 1, 3, and 4 had been practiced and applied by the children as they wrote for a specific purpose (Fig. 5), read their notes to the class, and listened to their peers' notes while discussing a common topic. Moreover, by sharing notes and documenting collective class notes, they again showed

an understanding of the roles of individuals in a group situation and addressed Social Sciences Goal 18 in the Illinois Learning Standards.

Figure 5. Mark records notes and makes an observational drawing of the church.

As Phase 2 continued, the children pursued topics of interest to them and formulated questions for investigation. In his four-paragraph essay (Fig. 6), Mark identified what he wanted to study, explained several things he had already learned about the topic, and listed several questions for investigation. He concluded his essay by indicating the resource he planned to use to find answers to his questions. Again, in learning centers and using the five-step writing process (Prewriting, First Draft, Revisions, Proofreading, and Publishing), Mark completed his essay and shared it with the class. The essay was then displayed for future reference. By referring to Mark's published essay (Fig. 7) as an example, we can see that the children have communicated in writing for a specific purpose and addressed Goal 3 of the English/Language Arts goals in the Illinois Learning Standards. They have also addressed English/Language Arts Goal 5 by identifying questions for research and naming the sources to be used.



Mark (1) 1-7-99

Grafton Project

For my Grafton project, I want to learn more about St. Patrick's Church.

→ It was ~~bilt~~ built ~~from~~ of the quarry.

The priest's name is Father Herkes.

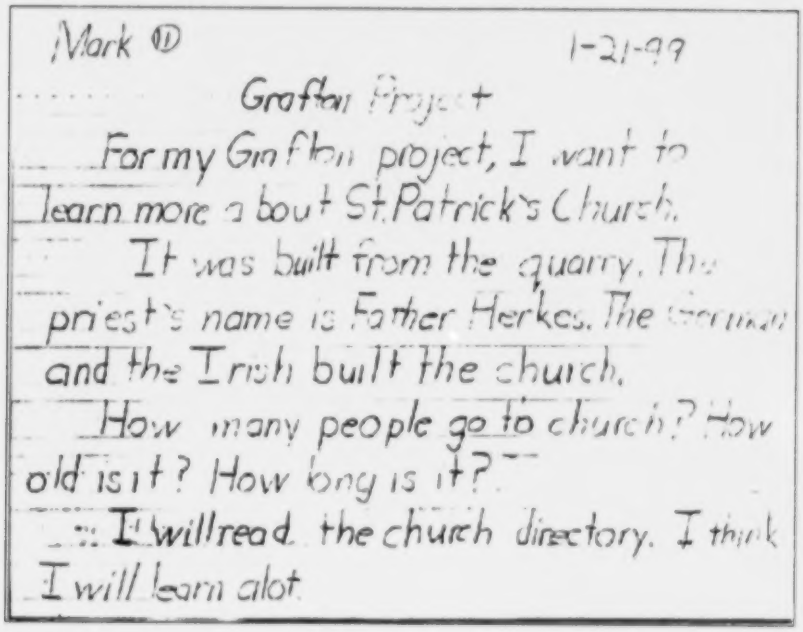
The German and the Irish ~~bilt~~ built the church.

How many ~~peple~~ people go to church? How old is it? How long is it?

I will read the church directory.

←I think I will learn a lot.

Figure 6. Using proofreading marks, Mark has found and made notations for correcting his essay.


Mark ©D 1-21-99

Grafton Project

For my Grafton project, I want to learn more about St. Patrick's Church.

It was built from the quarry. The priest's name is Father Herkes. The German and the Irish built the church.

How many people go to church? How old is it? How long is it?

I will read the church directory. I think I will learn alot.

Figure 7. Mark published his essay for display, using his best handwriting and making all corrections.

Having identified questions for investigation, Mark and a classmate shared a local map to locate familiar places in the community. Mark was particularly interested in finding where East Main Street and West Main Street began because the mayor told us that the Catholic Church was built on the German end of town (west) but was given an Irish name. This decision, she explained, was a compromise between the Irish, who lived on the east end of town, and the Germans. After Mark located St. Patrick's Church on the map, he noticed that it was indeed on West Main Street. He also discovered that our own school was close to the center point of the town where the East Main addresses stopped and the West Main addresses began (Fig. 8). As Mark engaged in the investigation of the church, he practiced English/Language Arts skills stated in the Illinois Learning Standards. The skills listed under Goal 1 were applied as Mark "use[d] information presented in . . . maps . . . to form an interpretation." When he "locate[d] information using a variety of resources," he applied skills stated in Goal 5.

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Figure 8. Mark studied a local map with a classmate, locating St. Patrick's Church and finding out where East Main ends and West Main begins.

Later, Mark and Nora gathered in the reading center with several of their peers, ready to engage in research. Mark (Fig. 9, center, back bench) read the church directory as Nora and another classmate listened carefully. Mark was a gifted reader, while Nora was a strong auditory learner. As Mark and Nora read the church directory, they applied "reading strategies," and "word analysis and vocabulary skills," while reading for a specific purpose and verifying their predictions and/or linking their prior knowledge to the content of their reading. By applying these skills in their reading from a variety of sources, they addressed Goal 1 of the Illinois Learning Standards related to English/Language Arts. As they gathered information from their reading, they applied skills stated in English/Language Arts Goal 5. In addition, Goal 16 of Illinois Learning Standards related to Social Science was applied as they sought out "answers from historical sources" and identified "key individuals and events in the development of the local community."

Figure 9. Mark brought his parents' church directory to school. He read to Nora as they searched for answers to their questions.

Because the church building had been surrounded by deep snow when we walked past it on our field experience, we had not measured it. Mark and Nora found the dimensions of the building, however, in

the church directory. They also enjoyed reading the story of the compromise between the Germans and the Irish. The directory explained, as had the mayor, that the stone used to construct the building had come from one of the old Grafton quarries that no longer existed. Mark and Nora began planning the construction of a scale model of the church. They planned, also, to make a triple Venn diagram, in order to compare and contrast all three churches in Grafton.

Mark and Nora started on the model first. Other groups planned to build models as well, so at one of our group meetings, we discussed the sizes of our models. Because of space, I asked the children what unit of measurement we might use instead of feet. Both inches and centimeters were suggested, but after trying each one, we decided on centimeters. Nora and Mark went to the "treasure room" (our room for storing boxes, paper towel rolls, egg cartons, foam meat trays, and other materials) and found a box that was very close to the dimensions they needed. Work on the model of St. Patrick's Church was then underway. For details, they referred to a photograph in the church directory, as well as their own observational drawings.

Each day, before engaging in their project work, the children were given time to record their plans in their "learning" journals. We then gathered as a group so that at least three children, whose names were drawn from a container, could read their plans to the group. We stayed in our meeting long enough to determine if anyone was having problems or needed additional supplies before beginning work. By the time the meeting ended, the children were focused on what they would be doing that morning. Encompassed in writing their plans are skills listed in the Illinois Learning Standards, specifically English/Language Arts Goals 1, 3, and 4. Children write for a specific purpose and read with fluency as the group listens attentively and participates in a discussion of the morning's work plans.

By reading Mark's learning journal entry from February 4, 1999 (Fig. 10), one can tell that he was beginning to be concerned about time. Mark and Nora decided that while Nora continued to work on the model, Mark would begin a first draft of the triple Venn diagram. They discussed what should be included in the Venn diagram before Mark began. Included in their plans for the Venn diagram were the ages of each building, the building materials, addresses, number of buildings, and whether or not each building had a steeple or bell. Their notes from field experiences and research included the date each church was constructed. To figure out the ages of each church, they decided to subtract from the present year. In Figures 11 and 12, it can be seen that Goal 5 of the English/Language Arts Illinois Learning Standards is being applied as Mark works diligently on a first draft of the Venn diagram. He and Nora have analyzed and organized their acquired information from various sources, and he is planning a format in which to communicate the information. As stated in Mathematics Goal 6, he has selected the correct computational procedure to use in order to compute the age of each church. Mathematics Goal 10 has also been applied as he collected his data, analyzed and organized it, and planned a format to "communicate the results."

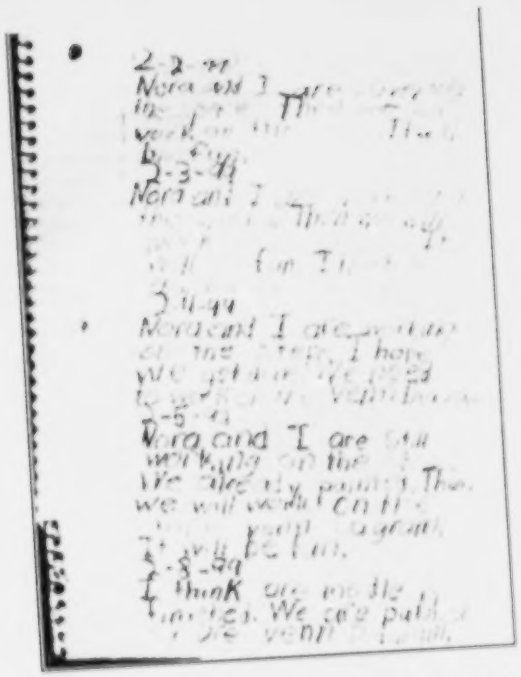

Figure 10. Entries from Mark's learning journal reveal how his writing is organized and serves the important purpose of making plans for work.

Figure 11. Mark works on the first draft of his Venn diagram.

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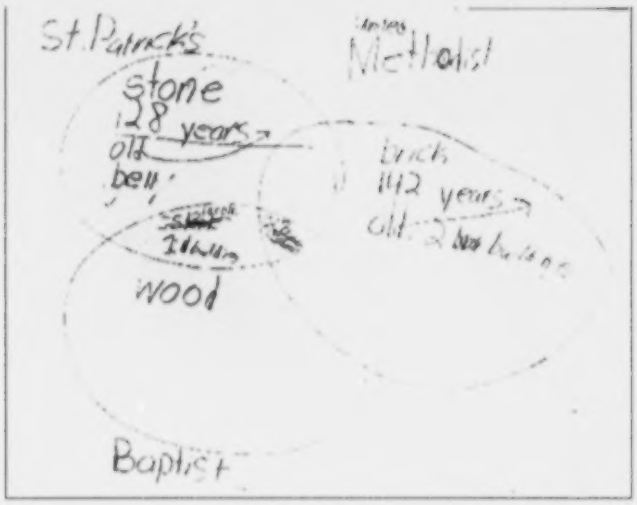

Figure 12. The early work on the Venn diagram shows how Mark is organizing his newly found information about the three churches in the community.

While Mark completed the final copy of the Venn diagram on poster board, Nora continued to add details to the model. After searching through the treasure room, they decided to use torn pieces from yellow foam meat trays for the stone on the building. The yellowish color resembled the stone from the old quarry that was used in many older buildings around town, including the church. Gluing on the wheelchair accessible ramp in the front of the church and constructing the top of the steeple became subsequent challenges, but Nora persevered, and, with occasional assistance and encouragement from Mark, they successfully constructed a very realistic model of the church (Figs. 13 & 14).

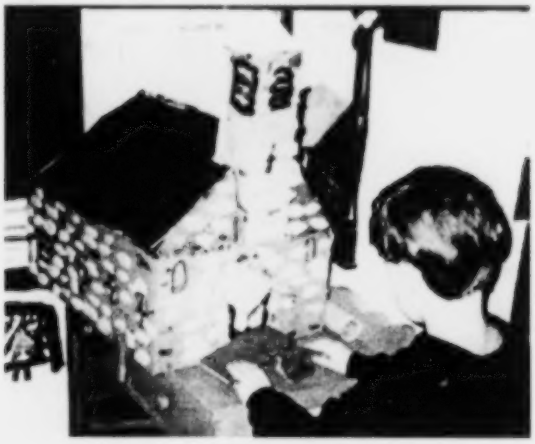

Figure 13. Mark admires Nora's handiwork; she persisted in attaching the wheelchair ramp and the roof over the porch.

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Figure 14. Saint Patrick's Church, Grafton, Illinois.

By persisting in the long-term effort of constructing a scale model of St. Patrick's Church, Nora applied many Illinois Learning Standards. Skills listed in Mathematics Goal 7 were applied as she converted the measurements of the building from feet to centimeters and then measured cardboard boxes to find one that was nearest to the correct measurement. By referring to Figures 13 and 14, one can see that many geometric shapes were used to construct the model. The most challenging shape was the pyramid at the top of the steeple. After many trials, Nora finally discovered that by cutting four triangles, she could create the pyramid shape that she needed. By "demonstrat[ing] and apply[ing] geometric concepts" such as these, she applied the skills of Mathematics Goal 9. The end result reveals that skills stated in Science Goal 13 have also been used: the scale model was accomplished through "careful observation," accurate measurements, and reuse of discarded materials.

Every day, as the investigations progressed, we gathered as a group to give several of the individuals and small groups an opportunity to share their work. Children listened as others explained their progress, teaching them along the way. They offered comments and encouraging remarks. Often, the children gave suggestions or ideas for improving the quality of their work. Perhaps a new question would arise during the discussion, and someone would suggest a new investigation directly related to the first, as an ongoing process.

At the end of each day as well, we gathered as a group to share entries from daily journal writings. Children wrote about their progress often, and I wrote back to them each day during their silent reading so that they could also read my response to the group. Because of their ongoing interest in their progress, the children contributed their ideas for categories to be used in a rubric for evaluating their projects. Mark's daily journal entries from February 2 and 3, 1999 (Fig. 15) reveal his concern that all investigations were going well. They also show that he once again applied English/Language Arts State Goals 1, 3, and 4: focused and organized writing, ability to read the diary entry fluently to his peers, and competence in speaking in front of a group. Listening skills were exhibited on a daily basis as the children listened carefully and attentively to each other.

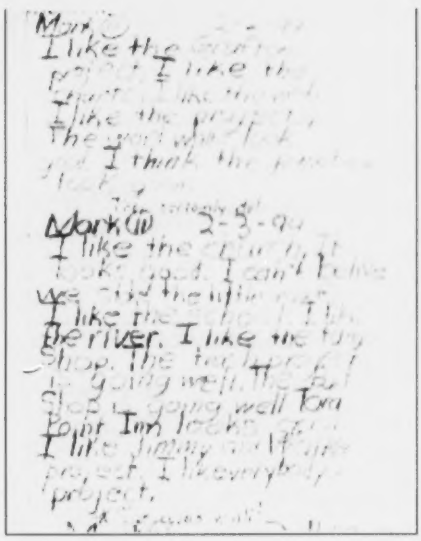

Figure 15. Mark writes about our progress in his daily journal.

Phase 3

As Mark and Nora completed their triple Venn diagram of the three churches in Grafton and put the finishing touches on their scale model of St. Patrick's Church, they each began helping with two other student investigations. By the time we were ready for project culmination, Phase 3, our class had completed eight separate investigations of Grafton. Each of these investigations, of course, met many and various state standards, just as the project on the church did. Four scale models of local buildings had been built. A book or a web of information accompanied each of the models. Another group made a timeline to show the years that our various school buildings had been constructed or razed. Two boys interviewed the adults in the school in order to find out what trees and plants grow in Grafton. They made mobiles to indicate the names of the trees as well as leaf shapes, and they made a web to depict and label the plants. One group studied the two rivers that converge at the East End of our town. They made a map of the United States, showing the source and the mouth of the Mississippi River and the Illinois River. Their Venn diagram compared lengths, number of bordering states, sources, and mouths of each river. Another student was concerned about the trash in our town. He wrote a letter to the mayor asking what our class could do to help. He also wrote an acrostic poem about trash and printed many large signs with the poem on them. He planned to ask local merchants to hang the signs in their windows. The mayor paid a personal visit to our classroom to donate a large red trash can to be placed outside our school building to help the community with the trash problem.

The entire class was invited to participate in still another project when I asked them to contribute "Did you know?" facts and sketches for a class book. The children decided to name the book *Things about Grafton That You Never Knew*. Three hundred copies were printed, and a few still remain on sale in local stores.

As mentioned before, project work, independent of content, meets many state standards, simply by the investigative nature of good-quality project work. In fact, the entire English/Language Arts State Goal 5 is met in every project, no matter what the topic:

Illinois Learning Standards, English/Language Arts, State Goal 5: Use the language arts to acquire, assess and

communicate information.

A. Locate, organize, and use information from various sources to answer questions, solve problems and communicate ideas.
   5.A.1a Identify questions and gather information.
   5.A.1b Locate information using a variety of resources.

B. Analyze and evaluate information acquired from various sources.
   5.B.1a Select and organize information from various sources for a specific purpose.
   5.B.1b Cite sources used.

C. Apply acquired information, concepts and ideas to communicate in a variety of formats.
   5.C.1a Write letters, reports, and stories based on acquired information.
   5.C.1b Use print, nonprint, human and technological resources to acquire and use information.

Other state standards are also related to our topic—the Grafton community. The following state standards related to our topic were met by at least one of the eight small-group investigations or through field experiences or through the visit from our mayor. State standards met by small-group investigation were taught to the whole class at group sharing time:

- Social Science State Goal 14 was addressed by one child as he showed traits of "responsible citizenship" by "working with others" to improve the quality of the environment in our community. His peers encouraged him as he made numerous signs to be placed throughout the community. After culmination, our entire class walked around town picking up litter and disposing of it properly. Many community members and business people came out to talk to us as we worked, commending the children on their display of good citizenship. In addition, the visit from the mayor had given the children an opportunity to "identify the roles of [one of our] civic leaders," yet another state standard in Social Science Goal 14.

- The two children who made a timeline about the history of our school were able to help the children "explain the difference between past, present, and future time" concerning our school. They were also able to "place themselves in time" by referring to the timeline. Their investigation had addressed Social Science State Goal 16. Each investigation of local buildings had exemplified our application of Social Science State Goal 16, as well. The children had asked "historical questions," "sought out answers from historical sources," and "identif[ied] key individuals and events in the development of the local community."

- The visit from our mayor had also addressed several aspects of Social Science Goal 16 as she talked to the children about how "the economy of the students' local community has changed over time." Grafton once had 8,000 people compared to our 612 people now. Jobs abounded in the two local quarries, boatworks building, and button factory, to mention a few. She also helped the children "identify how people . . . in the past made economic choices to survive and improve their lives" as she explained the use of metal roofs on the older buildings in order to preserve trees.

- Our visit to city hall to interview the senior citizens who had gathered there for lunch was another example of meeting Social Science State Goal 16. The children became acquainted with the senior citizen group, as well as the community members who helped serve their food. In addition, many children brought in pictures of the 1993 flood during the course of our project, helping us to "describe how the local environment has changed over time" as stated in Social Science Goal 16.

- The small group that studied the rivers contributed an abundance of information related to Social Science Goal 17. Their investigation "identif[ied] physical characteristics" of our area. The mayor had explained the importance of the rivers to our economy by "identify[ing] ways people depend on and interact with the physical environment." She had "identif[ied] . . . constraints of the physical environment" as she told the children about the numerous floods in Grafton's history. As she told about the floods, she helped them "identify changes in geographic characteristics of [our] local region." Each of these standards are included in Social Science Goal 17.

Right before project culmination, children were ready to evaluate their projects by completing their own rubric (Fig. 16) at a learning center. Knowing that a teacher's aide would be asking them questions about their investigation, the children asked if they could use their own resources for information (Venn diagrams, charts, books, and so forth). This request revealed an acute awareness of their newly acquired knowledge.

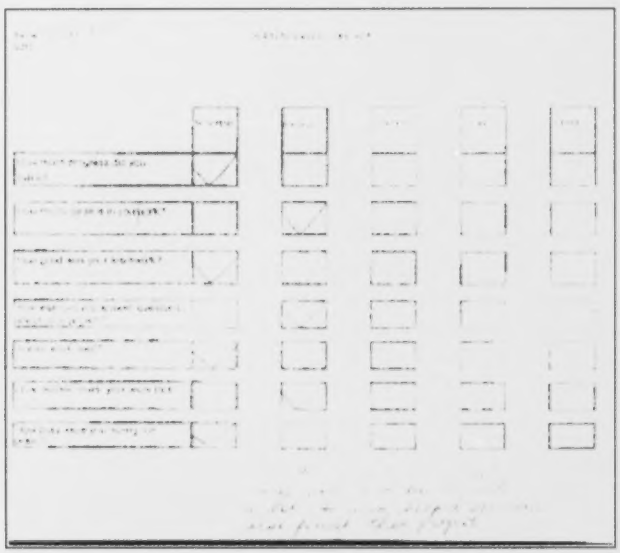

Figure 16. Mark evaluated his own project by using the rubric that he and his classmates had developed.

In addition to these skills that were both applied and systematically taught as a result of small-group investigations in the mornings, other skills were being taught and practiced at learning centers in the afternoons. Whenever possible, these assignments were related to the project topic. At the math center, children used English/Language Arts skills stated in Goal 3 as they wrote their own story problems (Fig. 17). The problems were published, solved by their classmates, and put into a class book. By solving the problems, the children were applying mathematics skills listed in Goal 6, specifically "select[ing] and perform[ing] computational procedures to solve problems with whole numbers."

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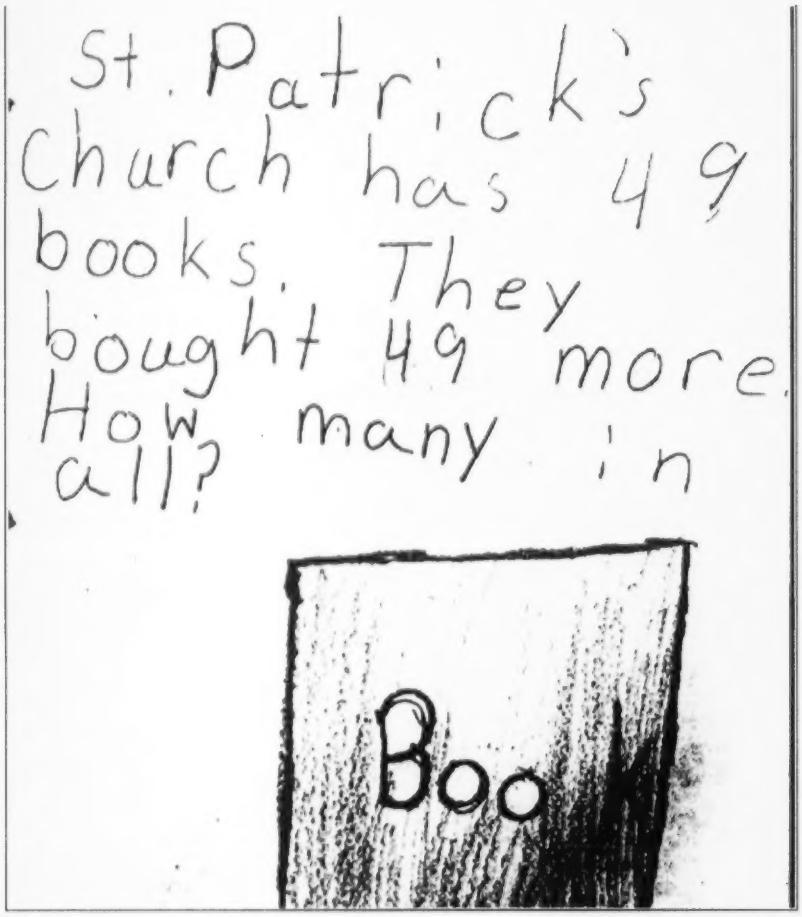

Figure 17. Nora wrote her own math problem about the books at church.

Poetry was written at the writing center (Fig. 18), shared orally at our group meetings, and then put into another class book. Children demonstrated their application of state Goals 1, 3, and 4 related to English/Language Arts when they wrote a poem, read it to their peers, and listened attentively, recognizing poetry as a writing form.

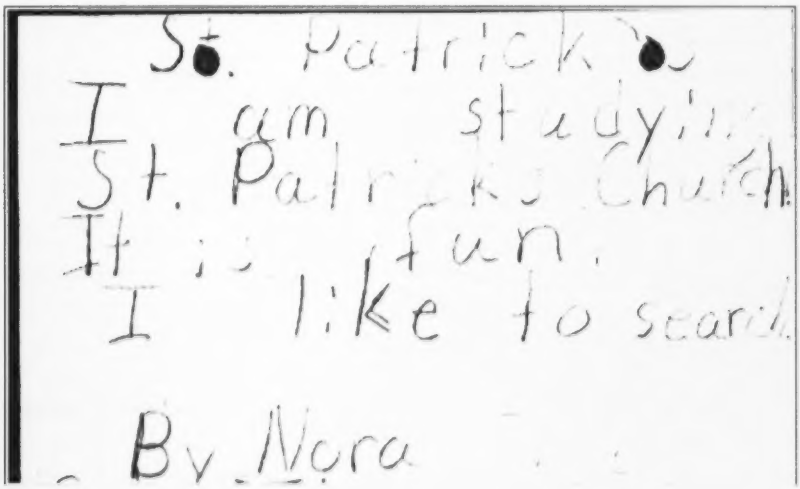

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Figure 18. Nora's poem about the church shows her enthusiasm for her work in progress.

Project-related spelling words were sometimes assigned (Fig. 19). "Correct spelling of appropriate high-frequency words," a skill listed in Goal 3 related to English/Language Arts, was yet another Illinois Learning Standard applied during the project.

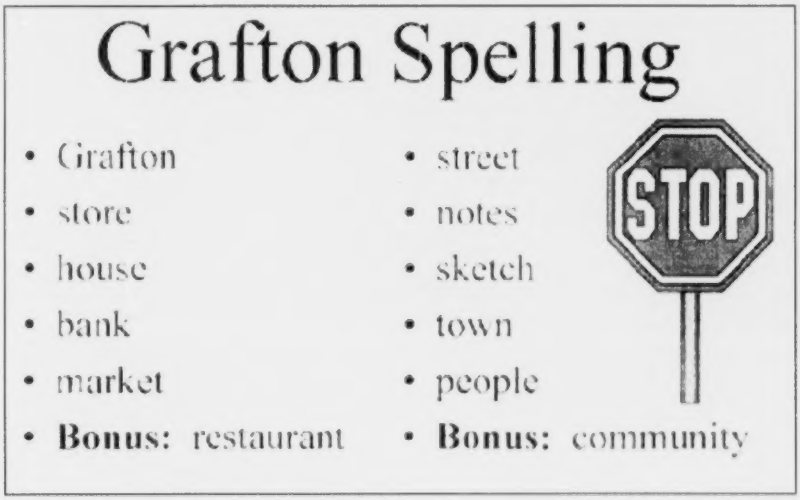

Figure 19. Assigned spelling words for the week were often project related.

A learning center assignment on opposites contributed yet another class book (Fig. 20). The assignment also created an additional opportunity to practice English/Language Arts skills included in state Goal 1, "Read with understanding and fluency" or, specifically, "Apply word analysis skills to recognize new words."

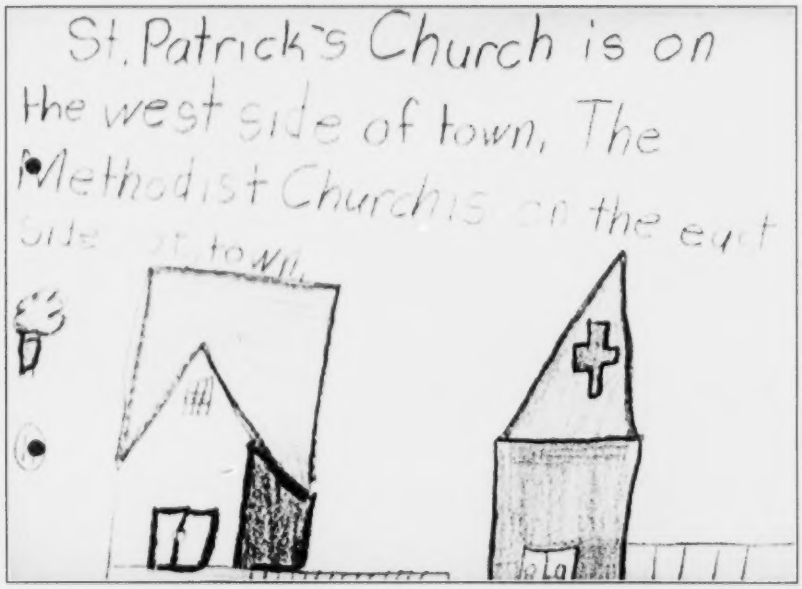

Figure 20. Mark used the opposite words east *and* west *to describe the location of two local churches.*

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As project culmination approached, the children and I began discussing what topic to study next. Many good ideas surfaced. I used this opportunity to teach the children about persuasive writing and then asked them to write essays on the topics they would like to study next. Each persuasive essay was published and shared orally with the class, after which we voted to see which was the favorite topic. Once again, English/Language Arts skills in Goals 1, 3, and 4 were put to use as the children carefully drafted, revised, proofread, and published their essays (Fig. 21); read "aloud with fluency and accuracy"; and listened attentively to each other before the vote was conducted. By participating in the voting process, the students practiced Social Science Goal 18 as they demonstrated their understanding of the role of each individual in the group voting situation.

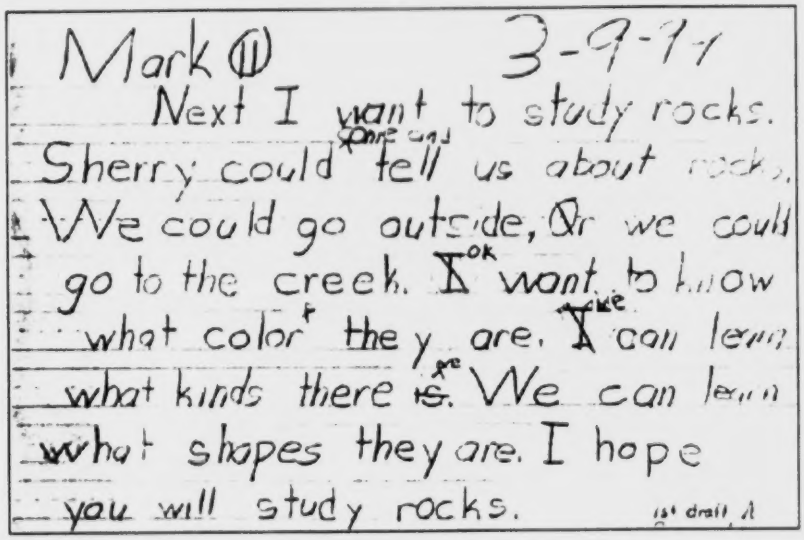
Mark
3-9-97
Next I want to study rocks.
Sherry could come and tell us about rocks.
We could go outside, Or we could
go to the creek. I OK want to know
what color the y are. I like can learn
what kinds there is. We are can learn
what shapes they are. I hope
you will study rocks.
1st draft

Figure 21. With his persuasive essay, Mark wished to convince his peers to study rocks next.

Conclusion

Instead of thinking of "teaching" as providing instruction in one subject area at a time, we can think of teaching as one part of the learning process. The topic, the end results, and the learning process are all equally important in project work. The learning process becomes an intricate tapestry of children and teachers working toward a common goal: to learn more about the topic while practicing curriculum skills and sharing new knowledge with peers, family, and school and community members.

When using the Project Approach to study a topic from the immediate environment in depth, state standards are met in an integrated way, rather than through segmented subject areas. Rather than being an "add-in" to an already congested school day, project work helps integrate learning in several areas and offers an approach to meaningful learning. Children practice and apply many skills in order to identify a topic, investigate questions, represent their findings, and share them with others. Children acquire skills in the natural course of meeting their personal goals. Other skills may be taught systematically, but often in the context of a project.

After hearing about our project work, teachers frequently ask me: "When do you have time to teach the curriculum?" Rather than not having enough time to teach curriculum skills, I have found that the reverse is true—by using project work and learning centers in large blocks of time, curriculum skills are abundantly practiced and applied. Children enjoy learning on their own and from each other. The

teacher enjoys watching, listening, collaborating, facilitating, and participating in the learning process. The process of learning, practicing, and meeting the state learning standards becomes an interactive, purposeful, and enjoyable experience.

Appendix

Selected Illinois Learning Standards

The learning standards listed in this article are excerpted from the Illinois Learning Standards for Early Elementary Grades adopted July 1997 by the Illinois State Board of Education. A complete list of the Illinois Learning Standards is available at http://www.isbe.state.il.us/ils/standards.html.

Illinois Learning Standards, English/Language Arts, State Goal 1: Read with understanding and fluency.

A. Apply word analysis and vocabulary skills to comprehend selections.

1.A.1a Apply word analysis skills (e.g., phonics, word patterns) to recognize new words.

1.A.1b Comprehend unfamiliar words using context clues and prior knowledge; verify meanings with resource materials.

B. Apply reading strategies to improve understanding and fluency.

1.B.1a Establish purposes for reading, make predictions, connect important ideas, and link text to previous experiences and knowledge.

1.B.1b Identify genres (forms and purposes) of fiction, nonfiction, poetry and electronic literary forms.

1.B.1d Read age-appropriate material aloud with fluency and accuracy.

C. Comprehend a broad range of reading materials.

1.C.1a Use information to form questions and verify predictions.

1.C.1f Use information presented in simple tables, maps and charts to form an interpretation.

Illinois Learning Standards, English/Language Arts, State Goal 3: Write to communicate for a variety of purposes.

A. Use correct grammar, spelling, punctuation, capitalization and structure.

3.A.1a Construct complete sentences . . ., appropriate capitalization and punctuation; correct spelling of appropriate high-frequency words. . . .

B. Compose well-organized and coherent writing for specific purposes and audiences.

3.B.1a Use prewriting strategies to generate and organize ideas.

3.B.1b Demonstrate focus and organization . . . in written composition.

C. Communicate ideas in writing to accomplish a variety of purposes.

3.C.1a Write for a variety of purposes including description, information, explanation, persuasion and narration.

Illinois Learning Standards, English/Language Arts, State Goal 4: Listen and speak effectively in a variety of situations.

A. Listen effectively in formal and informal situations.

4.A.1a Listen attentively . . . and paraphrase what is said.

4.A.1b Ask questions and respond to questions from the teacher and from group members to improve comprehension.

B. Speak effectively using language appropriate to the situation and audience. . . .

4.B.1a Present brief oral reports, using language and vocabulary appropriate to the message and audience.

4.B.1b Participate in discussions around a common topic.

Illinois Learning Standards, English/Language Arts, State Goal 5: Use the language arts to acquire, assess and communicate information.

A. Locate, organize, and use information from various sources to answer questions, solve problems and communicate ideas.

5.A.1a Identify questions and gather information.

5.A.1b Locate information using a variety of resources.

B. Analyze and evaluate information acquired from various sources.

5.B.1a Select and organize information from various sources for a specific purpose.

5.B.1b Cite sources used.

C. Apply acquired information, concepts and ideas to communicate in a variety of formats.

5.C.1a Write letters, reports and stories based on acquired information.

5.C.1b Use print, nonprint, human and technological resources to acquire and use information.

Illinois Learning Standards, Mathematics, State Goal 6: Demonstrate and apply a knowledge and sense of numbers, including numeration and operations (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division), patterns, ratios and proportions.

C. Compute and estimate using mental mathematics, paper-and-pencil methods, calculators and computers.

6.C.1a Select and perform computational procedures to solve problems with whole numbers.

Illinois Learning Standards, Mathematics, State Goal 7: Estimate, make and use measurements of objects, quantities and relationships and determine acceptable levels of accuracy.

A. Measure and compare quantities using appropriate units, instruments and methods.

7.A.1a Measure length, volume and weight/mass using rulers, scales and other appropriate measuring instruments in the customary and metric systems.

Illinois Learning Standards, Mathematics, State Goal 9: Use geometric methods to analyze, categorize and draw conclusions about points, lines, planes and space.

A. Demonstrate and apply geometric concepts involving points, lines, planes and space.

9.A.1a Identify related two- and three-dimensional shapes including circle-sphere, square-cube, triangle-pyramid, rectangle-rectangular prism and their basic properties.

9.A.1b Draw two-dimensional shapes.

B. Identify, describe, classify and compare relationships using points, lines, planes and solids.

9.B.1a Identify and describe characteristics, similarities and differences of geometric shapes.

Illinois Learning Standards, Mathematics, State Goal 10: Collect, organize and analyze data using statistical methods; predict results; and interpret uncertainty using concepts of probability.

A. Organize, describe and make predictions from existing data.

10.A.1a Organize and display data using pictures, tallies, tables, charts or bar graphs.

10.A.1b Answer questions and make predictions based on given data.

B. Formulate questions, design data collection methods, gather and analyze data and communicate findings.

10.B.1b Collect, organize and describe data using pictures, tallies, tables, charts or bar graphs.

10.B.1c Analyze data, draw conclusions and communicate the results.

Illinois Learning Standards, Science, State Goal 13: Understand the relationships among science, technology and society in historical and contemporary contexts.

A. Know and apply the accepted practices of science.

13.A.1c Explain how knowledge can be gained by careful observation.

B. Know and apply concepts that describe the interaction between science, technology and society.

13.B.1a Explain the uses of common scientific instruments (e.g., ruler, thermometer, balance, probe, computer).

13.B.1b Explain how using measuring tools improves the accuracy of estimates.

13.B.1e Demonstrate ways to reduce, reuse and recycle materials.

Illinois Learning Standards, Social Science, State Goal 14: Understand political systems with an emphasis on the United States.

C. Understand election processes and responsibilities of citizens.

14.C.1 Identify concepts of responsible citizenship including respect for the law, patriotism, civility and working with others.

D. Understand the roles and influences of individuals and interest groups in the political systems of Illinois, the United States and other nations.

14.D.1 Identify the roles of civic leaders (e.g., elected leaders, public service leaders).

Illinois Learning Standards, Social Science, State Goal 16: Understand events, trends, individuals and movements shaping the history of Illinois, the United States and other nations.

A. Apply the skills of historical analysis and interpretation.

16.A.1a Explain the difference between past, present and future time; place themselves in time.

16.A.1b Ask historical questions and seek out answers from historical sources (e.g., myths, biographies, stories, old photographs, artwork, other visual or electronic sources).

B. Understand the development of significant political events.

16.B.1a Identify key individuals and events in the development of the local community (e.g., Founders days,

names of parks, streets, public buildings).

C. Understand the development of economic systems.

16.C.1b (US) Explain how the economy of the students' local community has changed over time.

16.C.1a (W) Identify how people and groups in the past made economic choices (e.g., crops to plant, products to make, products to trade) to survive and improve their lives.

D. Understand Illinois, United States and world social history.

16.D.1 (US) Describe key figures and organizations (e.g., fraternal/civic organizations, public service groups, community leaders) in the social history of the local community.

E. Understand Illinois, United States and world environmental history.

16.E.1 (US) Describe how the local environment has changed over time.

Illinois Learning Standards, Social Science, State Goal 17: Understand world geography and the effects of geography on society, with an emphasis on the United States.

A. Locate, describe and explain places, regions and features on the Earth.

17.A.1a Identify physical characteristics of places, both local and global (e.g., locations, roads, regions, bodies of water).

C. Understand relationships between geographic factors and society.

17.C.1a Identify ways people depend on and interact with the physical environment (e.g., farming, fishing, hydroelectric power).

17.C.1b Identify opportunities and constraints of the physical environment.

D. Understand the historical significance of geography.

17.D.1 Identify changes in geographic characteristics of a local region (e.g., town, community).

Illinois Learning Standards, Social Science, State Goal 18: Understand social systems, with an emphasis on the United States.

B. Understand the roles and interactions of individuals and groups in society.

18.B.1a Compare the roles of individuals in group situations.

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Linking Standards and Engaged Learning in the Early Years

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Abstract

Early childhood educators are increasingly concerned about the trend toward national standards and national testing. This article addresses issues of assessment in the early years of schooling, prekindergarten through third grade—a period when active, engaged, hands-on learning is most appropriate. Documentation of a kindergarten project on a turtle is presented to show how a science content standard is attained and how evidence is gathered that demonstrates the attainment of those skills inherent in the standard. The article then presents a framework for helping teachers and administrators to think about standards and the documentation of attainment of standards in ways that are compatible with how young children learn. The documentation procedures are especially compatible with approaches to learning that encourage student initiation and interest, such as the Project Approach.

Introduction

The early years of schooling are an important period of development. It is in prekindergarten through third grade that children learn to read and write, acquire a basic understanding of content areas, and develop important dispositions toward learning. It is also a time to begin the process of assessing children's performance related to standards. Documenting the growth of young learners, however, presents many challenges. Traditional methods of assessment, such as standardized tests, which require single-answer responses within specified time frames, put enormous pressure on young learners. Pressure can inhibit thinking (Jensen, 1998) and decrease the accuracy of assessment. These traditional methods of assessment are also insufficiently sensitive to the ways young learners demonstrate their

competencies. On-demand assessment can also interrupt the learning process in active, engaging classrooms. If standardized assessments require computerized grading and statistical analysis, the results are usually not immediately available to teachers. Results of these assessments often reach teachers too late for modification and redesign of learning experiences for the children who have been assessed.

In this article, we recommend a decision-making process for documenting children's performance as it relates to standards in a way that is consistent with how young children demonstrate their knowledge and skills.

The Challenge of Young Learners

During the preschool years and early primary grades, children learn best through active, engaged, meaningful experiences. Through these experiences, young children construct their own knowledge by interacting with their environments and others. The work of Piaget has demonstrated the importance of sensory experiences and concrete learning activities (Labinowicz, 1980). The National Association for the Education of Young Children confirmed the importance of direct, first-hand, interactive experience in their position statement on developmentally appropriate practice in early childhood programs (Bredekamp, 1987; Bredekamp & Copple, 1997). These experiences are difficult to assess.

Insights from brain research suggest that learning is easier when experiences are interconnected rather than compartmentalized into narrow subject areas (Caine & Caine, 1997). Teaching strategies such as complex thematic units and the Project Approach (Katz & Chard, 1989), which are the framework for instruction in many early childhood classrooms, provide this integration and intellectual challenge. Children, especially in the early years of schooling, learn from these hands-on, thought-provoking experiences. Such experiences engage their curiosity, motivate them to apply their developing skills, and challenge children to think reflectively; but the outcomes of such experiences are difficult to assess.

The early years are also important for the development of positive dispositions toward learning as described by Bruner (1996), Katz (1987), and Smith (1990). When we are teaching the young child, we not only provide opportunities to learn knowledge and skills but also to develop attitudes and dispositions about the use of that knowledge and those skills. The disposition to read, for example, includes how a child feels about reading and whether or not the child wants to learn to read. A child with a positive disposition toward reading will choose to read often. The consequence of the positive disposition will be more opportunities to practice the skill of reading. Reading is one of many complex skills that improve with use, not just with instruction (L. G. Katz, personal communication, February 18, 2000). In this way, the development of dispositions becomes critical for the long-term attainment of high standards. Children's development of dispositions, however, is a challenge to assess.

Standards and Young Children

Achievement of standards can be documented in active, engaged learning experiences. For example, here is a content standard from the National Science Education Standards (National Committee on Science Education Standards and Assessment, 1996):

> Content Standards: K-4
> Science as Inquiry

Content Standard A: As a result of activities in grades K-4, all students should develop
- Abilities necessary to do scientific inquiry
- Understanding about scientific inquiry

Guide to the content standard:
Fundamental abilities and concepts that underlie this standard include:
Abilities Necessary to Do Scientific Inquiry

Ask a question about objects, organisms and events in the environment. This aspect of the standard emphasizes students asking questions that they can answer with scientific knowledge, combined with their own observations. Students should answer their questions by seeking information from reliable sources of scientific information and from their own observations and investigations. . . .

PLAN AND CONDUCT A SIMPLE INVESTIGATION. In the earliest years, investigations are largely based on systematic observations. As students develop, they may design and conduct simple experiments to answer questions . . . . (p.122)

An example of children's achieving this standard can be observed in an engaged learning experience—the Turtle Project in Linda Lundberg's kindergarten class at Parker Early Education Center in Machesney Park, Illinois (Helm & Katz, in press). This project began when a turtle named George was given to the class.

The children's words and drawings about what they were observing that are included here are taken from a documentation panel for the Turtle Project prepared by the teacher. For several months, the children had been caring for George, who had unexpectedly turned out to be a female turtle. In late November, the children noticed that George began to act strangely:

What Happened:
The children noticed her digging a lot under her food dish. At times, she practically tipped her dish over. We moved her aquarium into the meeting area.

What We Thought and Said:
"She is hungry."
"PM class wasn't feeding her enough."
"Some old food is under the dish, and she is trying to get it."

What We Tried:
"We put food in the dish. George didn't eat it." (Fig. 1)

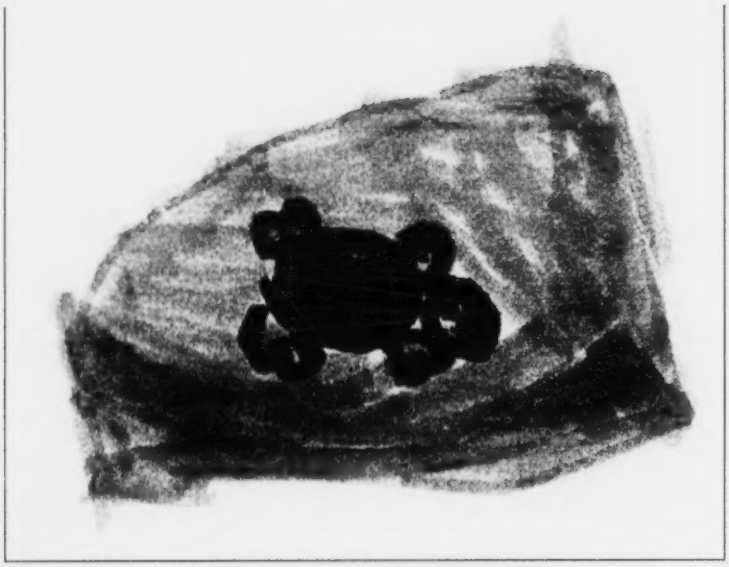

Figure 1. This drawing shows George digging under her food dish.

What Happened:
When the AM class came in, George was partly buried in her wood shavings.

What We Thought and Said:
"George is trying to make a nest."
"George is going to have babies."
"It is colder. We put on our coats. Maybe George is cold."
"He's digging in the chips to get warm."
"She was digging because she was too cold!" (Fig. 2)

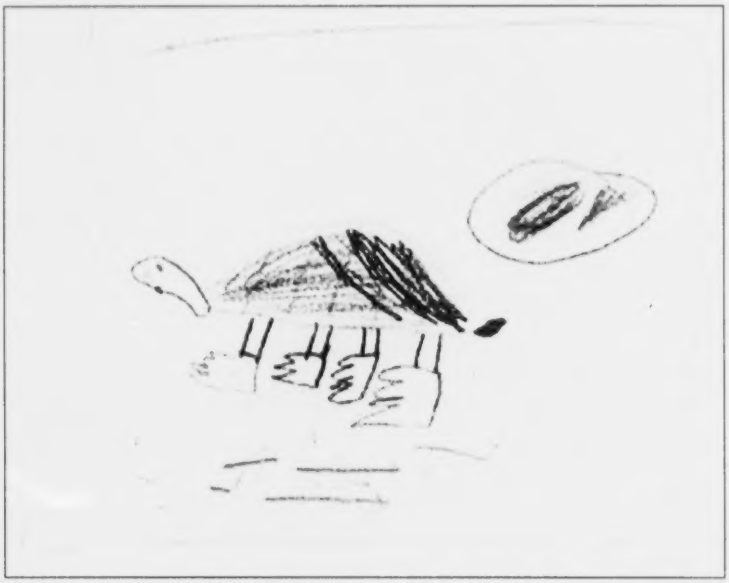

Figure 2. In this drawing, George is digging because she was cold.

What We Tried:
"We dug our hands into the shavings and into the sand to see if it was warmer." (Some said yes, some said no.)

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"Aaron made a house out of paper for George. George went in." (Fig. 3)

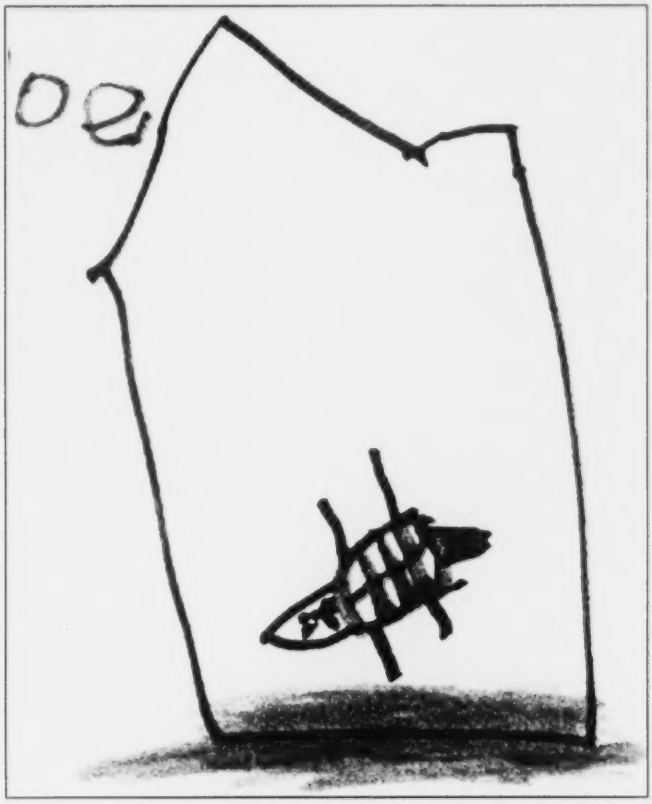

Figure 3. Aaron made a house out of paper. This drawing by Joe is of George in the house that Aaron made.

What Happened:
The teacher brought in a log with a hole. George went into the log. George had to be awakened when it was bath time. George wasn't going to the bathroom in her tub anymore.

What We Thought and Said:
"George spends most of her time way inside the log and a little buried."
"George must have been cold and wanted to get warmer."
"The inside of the log was cozy and darker and warmer."

What We Tried:
We looked in the book about turtles that we read earlier in the year.
The children unanimously shouted, "George is hibernating!" (Fig. 4)

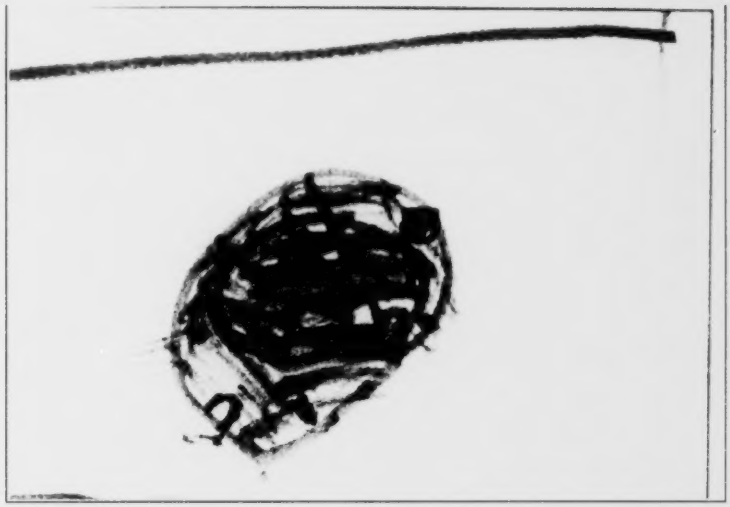

Figure 4. In this drawing, George is inside the log; she is hibernating.

This very brief documentation of a small part of the Turtle Project provides evidence that the children in this kindergarten classroom are well on their way to achieving the kindergarten equivalent of science content standard A, developing the "abilities necessary to do scientific inquiry." The documentation shows how children are learning to ask questions about organisms and events in the environment and to plan and conduct a simple investigation. The children's words and drawings could also be collected for documentation of individual children's achievement of the content standard. These could be placed in individual portfolios. If performance standards were available, that is, criteria and standards of what would be considered "good" questions or observations, the children's work could be examined to document the attainment of those performance standards.

Many teachers will find on examining recommended standards in other areas, such as literacy and mathematics, that children are also achieving these standards through project work or other engaged learning experiences. As teachers become familiar with content standards or curriculum areas that they are required to address, they can incorporate the documentation of the achievement of these standards into their planning.

Documenting Young Learners' Knowledge, Skills, and Dispositions

Teachers can carefully and systematically collect information about the knowledge, skills, and dispositions developed during the early years and reflect upon this information. Documentation of children's actual performance is an alternative to traditional methods of assessment, such as standardized group-administered tests. Tying that documentation to state or national standards enables the teacher to evaluate the child's progress and make critical decisions about curriculum, classroom materials, and personal interactions. These decisions can help move the child to greater competency and assist in reaching levels of development specified in the standards.

Documentation is defined as "providing evidence" (Helm, Beneke, & Steinheimer, 1998). The evidence of children's learning in prekindergarten through third-grade classrooms can include combinations of the following:

- Individual Portfolios
- Individual or Group Products
- Teacher Observations
- Child Self-reflections
- Narratives of Learning Experiences

Table 1 shows how these types of documentation can be collected in classrooms for young children (adapted from Helm, Beneke, & Steinheimer, 1998). The key is to provide "authentic" evidence of the young learner's growing competencies. According to Wiggins (1990, p. 1), "Assessment is authentic when we directly examine student performance on worthy intellectual tasks."

Documenting how young children meet standards in this way requires careful thought and consideration. Which standards lend themselves to being documented easily through teacher observations? What knowledge and skills that demonstrate achievement of standards might children reveal in the course of working on a long-term investigation such as a project? Might some children demonstrate knowledge of concepts in one way, such as constructing a model, while other children show the same mastery of knowledge through writing a book about what they learned?

Guidelines for Matching Documentation to Standards for Young Learners

Linking assessment and teaching in the early years requires that the teacher plan, during learning experiences, to acquire documentation (or evidence) that will demonstrate the achievement of standards or curriculum requirements. Here are some guidelines to assist teachers in this planning:

1. *Plan your documentation and assessment process to take advantage of natural outcomes of routine classroom activities.*

   Many routine classroom activities provide opportunities to document young children's performance related to standards. Gathering informative documentation does not require a specially orchestrated event. For example, many teachers include journal writing as part of their daily routine. Children, independently or in small groups, write or draw on self-chosen topics. The goal is usually to encourage expression of thoughts in writing, rather than demonstrate correct spelling, punctuation, and grammar. Yet, as students' skills develop, evidence is seen in their writing of their new knowledge of conventions of written language. Saving or copying selected pages from children's journals can provide documentation of progress toward language arts standards.

   Other possible classroom routines that may provide documentation related to standards include daily oral language, oral math, sustained silent reading, partner reading, science experiments, science observations, literature extension activities, math manipulative activities, and long-term studies or projects in all content areas. Routine classroom activities provide integral, connected, and natural ways to document children's performance related to standards.

2. *Provide for children's individual learning styles.*

   A challenge for teachers of young learners is the range of skills and competencies as well as the variety of ways that young learners demonstrate them. To get the most accurate assessment of

each child's knowledge, skills, and dispositions, teachers must know their students well. For example, a teacher might ask: Is this child better at writing about his or her knowledge of science processes or talking about it? Would I learn more about this child's progress in meeting this standard if he or she constructed something as a model or demonstrated a process to others? Would a musical expression or an opportunity for dramatic interpretation be more appropriate for this child? Matching documentation method to the learning style of the child insures that the child's performance represents what he or she knows and can do.

3. *Consider the natural products of learning experiences.*

   Children's developing writing skills are easily documented by collecting actual writing samples. Knowledge, skills, or dispositions about writing can be assessed by looking at children's work.

   Prekindergarten, kindergarten, and first-grade students demonstrate their growing math knowledge when using problem-solving strategies with real objects. Effective documentation of math skills need not be worksheets or timed practice tests but might be teacher observations of children's work with manipulatives. Quoting children's comments about their mathematical understanding in the course of working with these objects or manipulatives could be very informative.

4. *Document progress toward standards, not just attainment of them.*

   Teachers have much to gain from collecting ongoing documentation, rather than waiting for final attainment of those standards. In this way, the evidence will be available to show the progress that children are making toward a standard. Documenting the growth process enables the teacher to adjust and improve instruction. For example, teacher-edited, final published versions of children's writing are less informative than collections of children's writing that include first drafts, first edits, and the final edited version. The latter demonstrate children's growth in their understanding of self-expression, their spelling, and their developing mastery of grammar in the writing process. The teacher can then plan lessons and activities to help children develop the skills that the collected pieces of work indicate the children lack.

   Documenting children's progress toward standards rather than just attainment of standards also fits better with in-depth investigation and inquiry in integrated approaches such as the Project Approach. As children engage in a long-term study, documentation of their progress toward several standards becomes more feasible. In a study of transportation, children may study transportation now and in times past. Children will be working toward standards in history as they compare and contrast phenomena in different time periods, science as they analyze engines and speeds, mathematics as they organize data about wheels and seating capacity, and language arts as they investigate and represent their findings through writing or oral presentations. In long-term investigations and studies, displays, drawings, written work, and narratives of experiences will provide many pieces of documentation to show progress toward a variety of standards.

A Recommended Decision-making Process

To assist teachers in integrating documentation toward standards in classrooms for young children, a

decision-making process was developed. This process is embedded in the natural flow of teacher planning of learning experiences.

In the decision-making process, the teacher becomes aware of a standard and then generates a list of knowledge, skills, and dispositions that are implied by this standard. With an understanding of how young children learn and represent their learning, the teacher then asks, "If my students reach this standard, how might they show it in my classroom?" This list could include children's drawings, comments, behaviors, constructions, written work, or child-made displays that demonstrate achievement of the standard. Next, the teacher considers ways to set up the classroom environment and plans the learning experiences to enable children to achieve the standard and also show that achievement.

As plans develop, the teacher considers the types of documentation that might be gathered and prepares for collection. Specific plans may be made for portfolio collection, observations, products, self-reflections, or narratives of experiences. These can vary from child to child. The teacher then teaches, observes, and collects documentation in the classroom. Reflecting on the knowledge, skills, and dispositions inherent in the standard during the process of collection enables the teacher to assess the adequacy of the documentation to provide evidence of progress toward this specific standard. The teacher can plan for additional collection if necessary.

The final step involves evaluating the documentation as it is collected. Did the students make sufficient progress? If necessary, the teacher revises and adjusts the learning experiences to maximize the opportunity for all children to reach the standard. This decision-making process can be viewed step by step as a teacher would think through the process (PowerPoint slide show) or in its entirety as a flowchart. (Download flowchart as a Microsoft Word file for printing.)

Conclusion

The challenges of the assessment of young children' growth, development, and learning can be overcome by integrating documentation of standards into the planning of classroom experiences. Teachers can teach in ways that young children learn best, can provide critical experiences for intellectual growth, and can assess that growth at the same time. Standards can become a part of classrooms for young learners, and the process can become a natural part of active, engaged teaching and learning.

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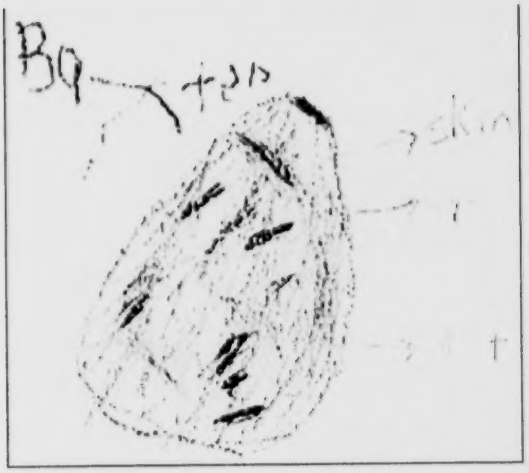
Table 1

Examples of Documentation in Early Childhood Classrooms*

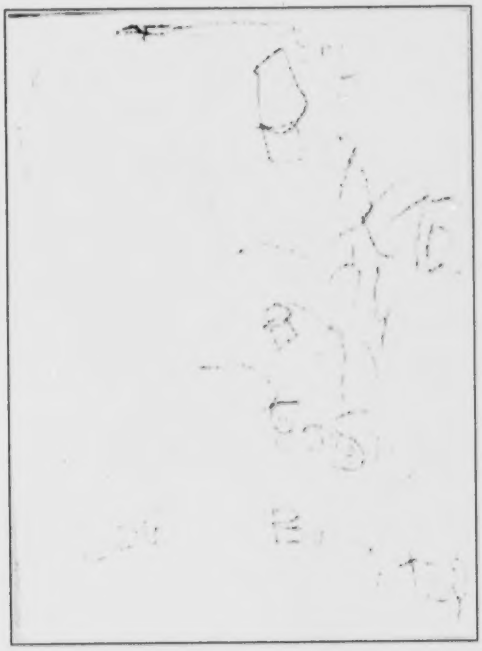
Type of Documentation	Collection Method
I. Individual Portfolios	Specific content area items collected at specific intervals, for example, writing samples; record of problem solving using numbers; unique items that show learning style, interests, unique talents of individual children An example of an individual portfolio item is Baxter's labeling of his vegetable drawings.
II. Products (Individual or Group)	Products that children make or produce such as spoken language as collected in anecdotal notes or audio/visual tapes; written language as collected in signs, captions to photos, drawings, letters, labels, and child- made books; constructions such as play environments, Lego, or block structures; drawn pictures or paintings; records of data collection; musical expressions such as made-up songs or dances; records of vocabulary or concepts learned such as webs and lists of words An example of a group product is the boiler constructed by 3- and 4-year-olds.
III. Observations	Observations made by the teacher and recorded as specific knowledge or skills on a developmental checklist or curriculum guide; anecdotal notes on events indicating knowledge, skills, or dispositions; behavioral indicators of dispositions (expression of interest, time spent on activities, self-selection of activities) An example of an observation is this description of tallying during the Fire Truck Project.
IV. Child Self-reflections	Children's statements of understanding their own preferences of activity, enjoyment, or interest in content areas; pride in accomplishment; acceptance of need for persistence and hard work An example of a child's self-reflection is Taylor's comment on his building.
V. Narratives of Learning Experiences	Stories of learning experiences of individuals, small groups, or the whole class in • teacher journals • displays on projects and units • books or explanations for parents • books or stories for children The turtle story presented earlier is an example of a narrative.

*Adapted from Helm, Beneke, & Steinheimer (1998, p. 36).

Back to Linking Standards and Engaged Learning



Drawing 1. The teacher needed to label this drawing for Baxter on April 26.



Drawing 2: Baxter's ability and disposition to label his own vegetable drawings begins to emerge in his labeling of an ear of corn on May 2.

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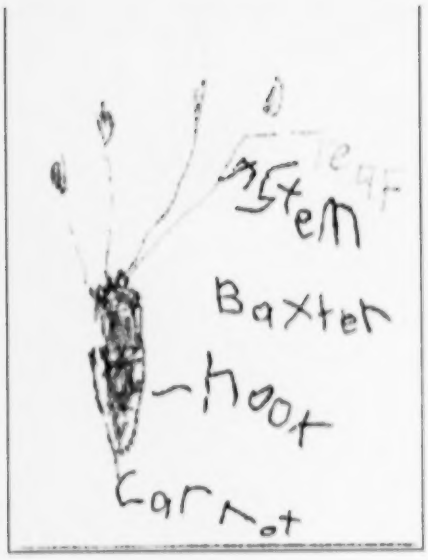

Drawing 3: Baxter's was able to proficiently copy the labels for his drawing of a carrot on May 10.

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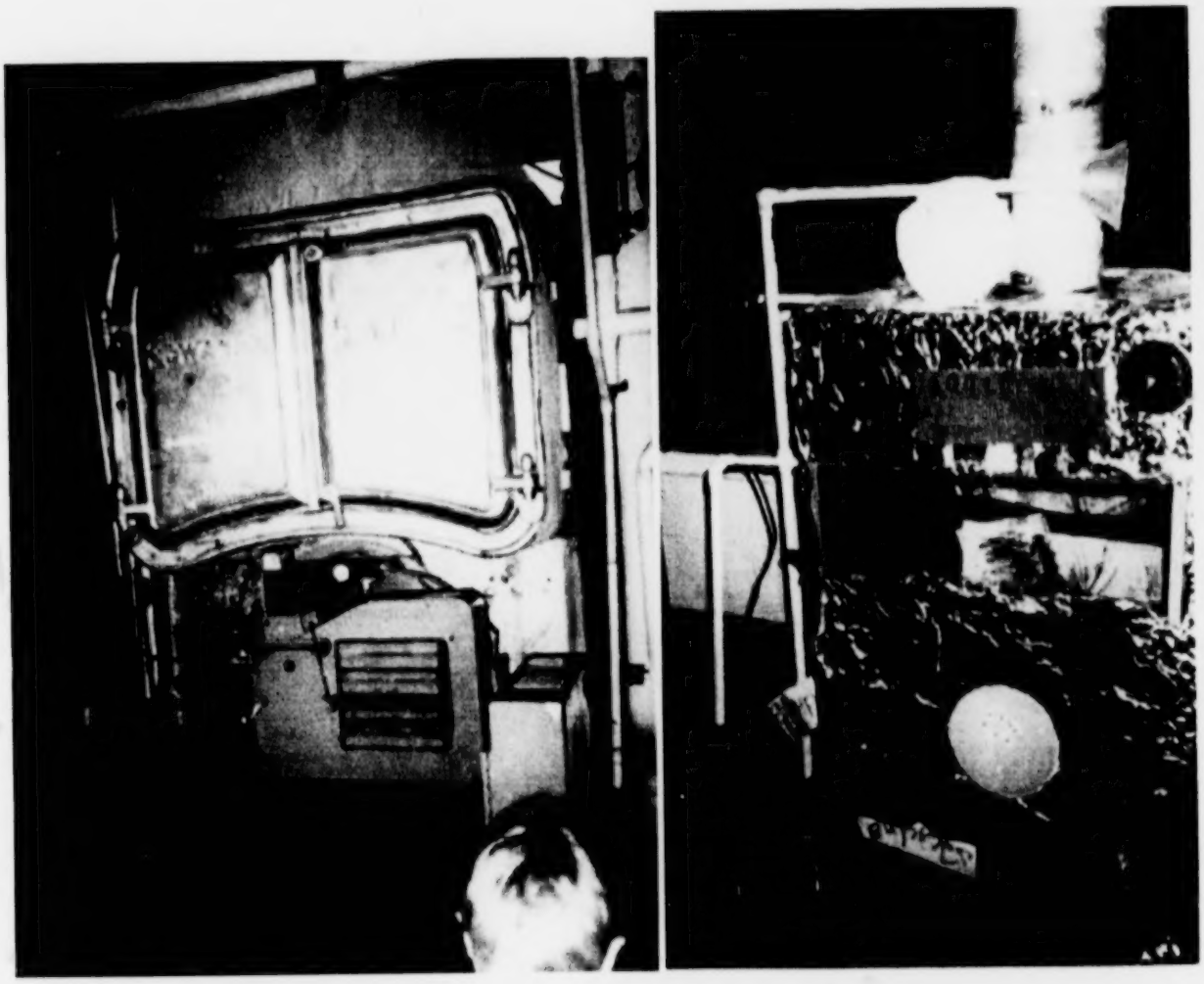

This documentation by Brenda Dexter at Stone School in Galesburg, Illinois, shows the children's construction of a boiler. Comparing the photograph of the real boiler with the photograph of the children's construction, which shows the detail and accuracy of the construction, enables the viewer to see how much the 3- and 4-year-old children learned about the boiler.

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This was the children's first experience with the tally graph. We had graphed several times before doing a picture graph and a bar graph. But this was the first time they'd used tally graphs. The children spent at least 10 or 15 minutes graphing the parts of the fire truck that they had asked about on their web. I made a graph for them with a picture of a tire and a column for them to make their tally marks, and a picture of the windows, etc. They took the clipboards and just walked around the fire truck, placed a mark for each object they saw, then counted their marks. They, for the most part, were very successful. They really enjoyed the counting as the numbers got higher and higher. "There are eight windows on this fire truck!" They were amazed! They started to count the hoses. The firefighter said, "Oh, I'm going to have to bring them down. There are a lot of hoses on this fire truck!" As their counting grew, they just got more and more excited about putting those tally marks on the paper the right way.

This observation by Pam Scranton was taken from her notes about the Fire Truck Project in her prekindergarten classroom at Woodford County Special Education Association in Eureka, Illinois.

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Taylor was one of several children using clay and small pieces of mylar to construct small buildings. Taylor is a very verbal child with strong language skills, but he had shown a marked lack of interest in using art materials. However, the Reflections Project really engaged Taylor's interest, and he constructed an elaborate clay church with many entrances and windows. He painted the clay structure orange and cut and carefully glued mylar windows onto his church. Completing his church took Taylor several days. On completion of his construction, Taylor turned to me and said, "Teacher, this is the best thing I've ever done in my whole life!" I thought this statement was especially significant in view of Taylor's earlier avoidance of the art materials.

This reflection was documented by Judy Cagle in her pre-primary classroom at Valeska Hinton Early Childhood Education Center and appears in Windows on Learning: Documenting Young Children's Work *(Helm, Beneke, & Steinheimer, 1998, pp. 26-27).*

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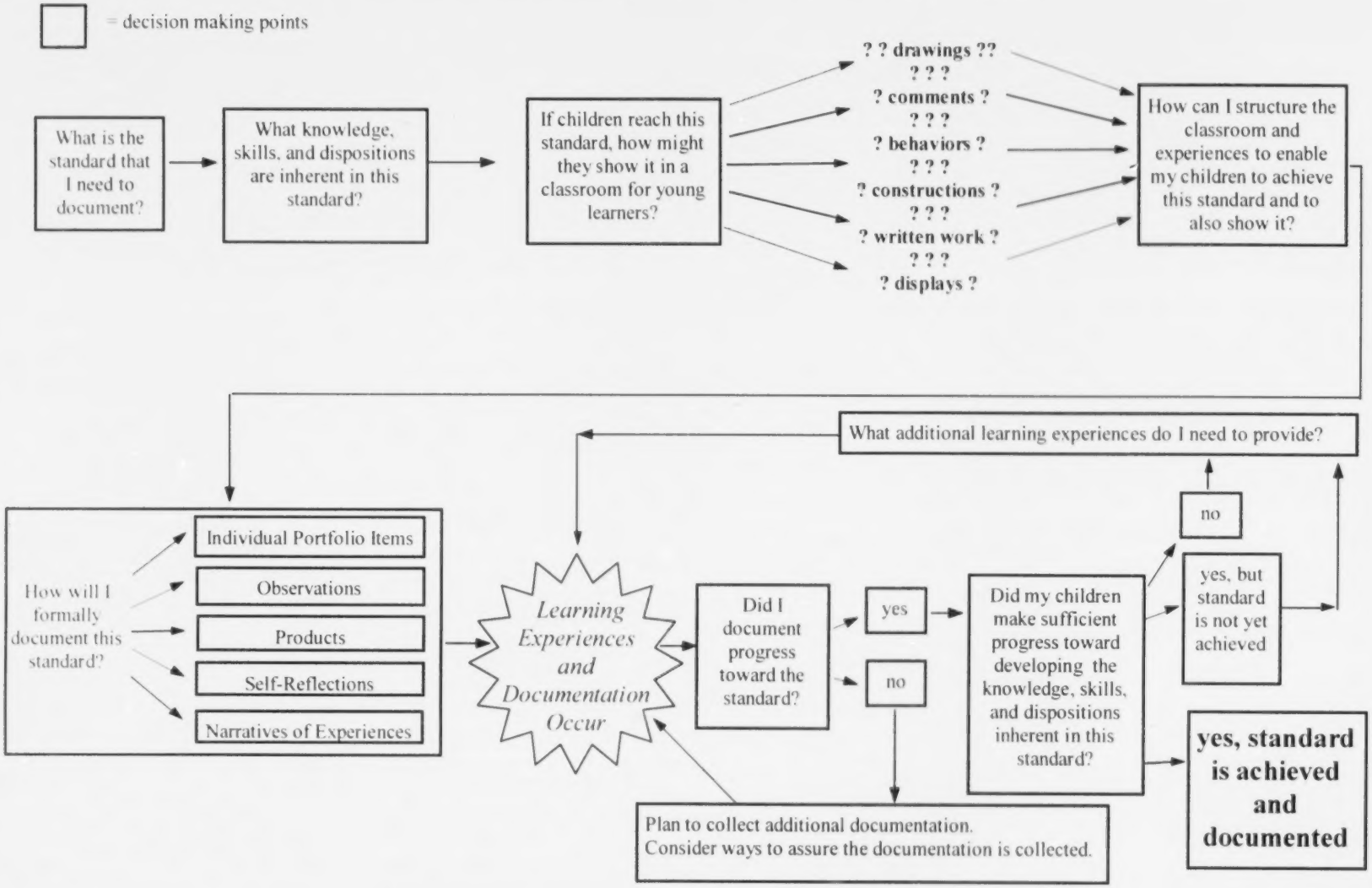
A Natural Decision-Making Process for Documenting Standards


= decision making points
What is the standard that I need to document?
What knowledge, skills, and dispositions are inherent in this standard?
If children reach this standard, how might they show it in a classroom for young learners?
? ? drawings ??
? ? ?
? comments ?
? ? ?
? behaviors ?
? ? ?
? constructions ?
? ? ?
? written work ?
? ? ?
? displays ?
How can I structure the classroom and experiences to enable my children to achieve this standard and to also show it?
What additional learning experiences do I need to provide?
How will I formally document this standard?
Individual Portfolio Items
Observations
Products
Self-Reflections
Narratives of Experiences
Learning Experiences and Documentation Occur
Did I document progress toward the standard?
yes
no
Did my children make sufficient progress toward developing the knowledge, skills, and dispositions inherent in this standard?
no
yes, but standard is not yet achieved
yes, standard is achieved and documented
Plan to collect additional documentation.
Consider ways to assure the documentation is collected.

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Continuity and Purpose in the Design of Meaningful Project Work

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Abstract

This paper discusses two pitfalls in designing project work. The first is a tendency to design projects with little emphasis on how the subject matter might connect to future studies. The second involves processes and goals of project work: all too often the processes proposed for project work serve goals that are nonexistent, weak, or unrelated to one another; or if strong goals exist, they are served by mundane processes. Because the philosophical foundations of project work reside in progressive education, and in particular in the work of Dewey, this paper focuses on the insights his conception of curriculum has for these pitfalls. In the first section of this paper, Dewey's principle of continuity is examined in relation to the first pitfall and the treatment of subject matter in project work. In the remainder of this paper, goals and processes are considered in light of Dewey's discussion of the concept of purpose. The paper notes that Dewey's theoretical analysis of progressive education suggests that subject matter content, processes, and products are all vital to intelligent activity. The paper also points to the fundamental role that the philosophical foundations of education play in the development of curriculum for young children and the difficulty of implementing progressive pedagogy.

Introduction

The impetus for this paper is my frustration in helping preservice teacher candidates develop sound plans for project work for the early primary grades. My experience has been that the pitfalls involved in designing project work are at least twofold. First, preservice teacher candidates tend to design projects as islands unto themselves, with little emphasis on how the subject matter might connect to future

studies. For example, a project on "China," followed by a project on "Australia," will contain few concepts and understandings connecting the two subjects. If there are concepts that relate one study to the next or subsume both topics, they are all too often implicit, rather than explicit. Thus, while the customs or language particular to each country may be examined as part of project work, children are not helped to think in terms of overarching concepts such as "culture." The consequence is a weakening of the educational value of the project. The second pitfall has to do with the processes and goals of project work. All too often, the processes that preservice teacher candidates propose for project work serve goals that are nonexistent, weak, unrelated to one another, or unclarified. On the other hand, strong goals are frequently served by mundane processes. Here, too, opportunities for learning may be lost. As Katz has pointed out, projects require good content and processes in the service of solid intellectual goals (L. G. Katz, personal communication, December 10, 1999).

Because the philosophical foundations of project work reside in progressive education, and in particular in the work of Dewey (1938), this paper focuses on the insights his conception of curriculum has for these pitfalls. In the first section of this paper, Dewey's principle of continuity is examined in relation to the first pitfall and the treatment of subject matter in project work. In the remainder of this paper, goals and processes are considered in light of Dewey's discussion of the concept of purpose. For the progressives who originally advocated project work, the alienation and intellectual stagnation of 19th-century schooling was to be remedied by the "whole-hearted purposeful activity" of project work (Kilpatrick, 1925, p. 349). Dewey's effort to formulate the principles by which a child-centered and experientially based curriculum can be designed and evaluated makes clear that projects are not merely a pedagogical reform, but more fundamentally they are tied to the cultivation of the kind of intellectual dispositions required of citizens in a democracy. These ideas are examined more fully below, turning first to the "principle of continuity" and its implications for a project curriculum.

The Principle of Continuity and Project Design

As noted above, one of the pitfalls of project work is that all too often successive projects have little explicit relationship to one another. Even when projects are ostensibly closely related to each other, as a study of Australia and China might be, little overt connection exists between them. Are there ways in which the subject matter within projects could be organized to maximize the opportunity for learning? How can project work be made more educative? In *Experience and Education*, Dewey (1938) asserted that progressive pedagogy, such as the project curriculum, should differ from traditional education in two ways. First, unlike traditional schooling that intentionally ruptured the connection between everyday experience and school experience, Dewey argued for schooling based on phenomena familiar to the children. Curriculum experiences must "at the outset fall within the scope of ordinary life-experience" (p. 87). Dewey's Lab School at the University of Chicago manifested this idea by focusing on "occupations," those activities most familiar to young children, such as cooking. Second, Dewey argued that these experiences form a basis for ever-widening and richer mastery of subject matter. He wrote, "experiences in order to be educative must lead out into an expanding world of subject-matter, a subject-matter of facts or information and of ideas" (p. 111).

This "leading out" process from firsthand experience to an ever-widening and reflective understanding of subject matter relies on what Dewey called the principle of continuity of educative experience. The principle of continuity posits that "every experience both takes up something from those which have gone before and modifies in some way the quality of those which come after" (p. 27). Dewey pointed out that the principle of continuity operates regardless of the quality of the experience: "there is *some* kind of continuity in every case" (pp. 27- 28). Within the traditional school curriculum of the 19th

century, endless recitations and harsh punishments produced in many children a disdain for further academic studies, a dislike so vehement that some children actually preferred the rigors of factory work to those of the schoolhouse. Here the principle of continuity worked to extinguish attitudes and dispositions for further intellectual growth. Thus, the traditional school was very often *miseducative.* Dewey wrote, "There is no paradox in the fact that the principle of the continuity of experience may operate so as to leave a person arrested on a low plane of development, in a way which limits later capacity for growth" (p. 31). In other words, the cumulative impact of negative experiences in school may curtail altogether a desire for further study. In contrast, the aim of teachers in a progressive curriculum is to exploit the principle of continuity such that capacities are opened up and strengthened for yet more growth:

> It thus becomes the office of the educator to select those things within the range of existing experience that have the promise and potentiality of presenting new problems which by stimulating new ways of observation and judgment will expand the area of further experience. He must constantly regard what is already won as not a fixed possession but as an agency and instrumentality for opening new fields which make new demands upon existing powers of observation and of intelligent use of memory. Connectedness in growth must be his constant watchword. (Dewey, 1938, p. 90)

So organically connected should curriculum activities be that Dewey referred to the structure of the curriculum as a continuous spiral, relying on current activities as a "moving force" toward new and more rigorous inquiries and interests. New facts and understandings should be "carried over" as an agency to the next experience, and so on.

The pitfall of designing sequential projects that do not "carry over" ideas and understandings from one project to the next is the failure to exploit the principle of continuity in the cause of pupil learning. In this case, rather than a continuous spiral, the curriculum is more like a parade of discrete activities. Regardless of how interesting and engaging individual projects might be, they nonetheless ultimately lack the organic connection Dewey saw as vital for pupil growth. If connectedness is to be the watchword in the design of projects, what are some ways in which it might be facilitated?

One idea is that when teachers are faced with the task of designing a project curriculum, they think more in terms of project themes rather than topics. In the literature on integrated curriculum in general, rarely is this distinction made, and the two terms are used most frequently as synonyms. It is useful, however, to try to distinguish between them. While a topic generally consists of a fairly concrete concept such as "simple machines," "Halloween," or "the supermarket," a theme tends to subsume its subject matter with a statement of a principle, relationship, problem, or a more abstract concept that can be applied to more than one subject matter area. Rather than the topic of simple machines, for example, a project might employ the theme, "technology helps us do our work." The idea is that connections can be more readily drawn between the lever, pulley, and the computer using the latter theme. The theme of "the life cycle" can link the study of baby chicks to the planting of seeds. The more general concept or principle could then subsume other studies, and connections could be drawn between them. It is far less clear how "topics" might perform this leading out or carrying over function, since they typically name concrete concepts. "Tornadoes," "the Civil War," "Kansas City," "the oceans," and "fossils," for example, all seem to lack as much potential for the kind of spiraling Dewey sought, although they might be of high interest and provide the basis for engaging activities.

The idea of thematic, rather than topical, projects is related to Raths's (1971) ideas about the criteria of worthwhile curriculum activities. Drawing on the work of Peters (1967), he asserted that one criterion of a worthwhile activity is that the subject matter under study "must be seen by both teachers and students as illustrative of important understandings, intellectual processes and/or problems" (p. 133). Closely related to the idea of using subject matter as an agency, Raths (1971) asserted that this criterion

signifies that no subject matter would be studied for its sake alone, but to illustrate some larger idea:

> No class would deal with the Pilgrims simply to learn about the Pilgrims. Instead, the Pilgrims would be studied to illustrate, for instance, ideas of religious freedom. A class in science would not study the amoeba for the sake of learning about pseudopoda, but would be using the study of amoeba to illuminate ideas about evolution. (p. 133)

Again, simple machines would not be examined only for the sake of learning about simple machines, but they would be studied because they illustrate some important understanding about technology. Under study, then, are not just facts but the themes that subsume them; these are the ideas that create the springboard for new studies.

The definition of theme advanced here is also related to Herrick's discussion of organizing centers, or the foci of curriculum, possessing the quality of "mobility." An organizing center with mobility is one that has the capacity "to move in time, in space, in cultures, and in logic" (Herrick, 1971, p. 110). In the social studies, Herrick noted, "such centers as great people, great documents, cities, states, or countries are commonly used as organizing centers, but they have limited mobility. It is hard to move Madison, Wisconsin, anywhere else" (pp. 110-111). His examples of mobile organizing centers included "social functions, common geographic characteristics, or the common and persistent problems of living" (p. 111). Herrick advanced the thesis that in addition to providing greater continuity, the latter organizing centers accommodate individual differences more readily, which is another precept of progressive education, since their mobility can provide "room and opportunity for encompassing meaningfully differences in children's background, ability and development" (p. 111).

Herrick (1971) also pointed out that teachers tend not to think in terms of these kinds of organizing centers when planning curriculum. Citing a study by Nerbovig (1956), Herrick (1971) explained that teachers commonly talked about teaching "addition, the farm, electricity, and the seven basic food groups" (p. 109), rather than planning around important understandings as objectives. Indeed, my experience has been that a preservice teacher candidate will tell me that he or she has to teach a unit on spiders in their cooperating classroom. When I ask, "Well, what are some important understandings you want your students to attain about spiders?", as a prompt to generate a theme, he or she has difficulty doing so. It is much harder to think in terms of themes than topics, and I believe it requires far more sophisticated content knowledge than teaching to topics.

In closing this discussion of themes, topics, and the principle of continuity, two points merit examination. First, this discussion of the principle of continuity has mainly focused on mastery of subject matter. Recently, however, critical theorists have pointed out that our capacity to think, our very consciousness, is shaped by the fragmentation found in traditional schools. For example, in arguably his best work, Jonathan Kozol (1975) wrote:

> Prior to the classroom, outside the school, most things flow into each other, one thing blends into another; many things certainly at any single moment are residing simultaneously within a child's mind. Suddenly in kindergarten, then more clearly in the First and Second grades, the day begins to lose its complex wholeness and turns into separate items known as "periods." Imagination, diffuse as in reality it is, begins to be divided into items known as "subject matter." Intellect itself gets split up two ways into "reason" and "emotion." The day and the week and the season and the year are turned into two items known as "school" and "real world"; and the future is transformed into twelve evenly divided, but distinct and isolable, items known as "school years"—separated by invisible connectives called "promotions." (pp. 27-28)

Similarly, he observed that "words like 'division,' 'period,' 'section,' 'unit,' 'grade,' 'assignment,' 'chapter,' 'topic,' and 'sub-topic,' 'term,' 'semester,' 'credit-hour,' 'area of concentration' are far more common in the public schools than words that speak of continuity or wholeness" (p. 28). Kozol (1975) argued that our minds are socialized by this fragmentation to not make inferences or seek relationships between phenomena. There are, in Kozol's terms, merely "no connections." The fragmentation of the

curriculum and the school day have profound political ramifications that extend well beyond the school door to the extent that we are "stupefied" by them (Macedo, 1993) and therefore unable to engage in an objective analysis of our social reality.

Finally, I have struggled as a teacher educator to promote the exploitation of the principle of continuity through my efforts to teach the distinction between topic and theme advanced in this paper. I have tried to define "theme" and "topic" and then use flash cards with my examples of each written on them in an effort to help my students attain these concepts. Holding a card displaying "The Civil War," I will ask the class "theme" or "topic?" Clearly, the distinction is not always readily drawn. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the thematic treatment of subject matter promises to better exploit the principle of continuity in the pursuit of educative experience than topical treatment and that teacher educators and teachers should strive to have their content as continuous as possible for the reasons outlined above. The remainder of this paper will turn to the processes and goals of project work with a consideration of Dewey's concept of purpose.

The Formation of Purposes: The Process and Goal of Project Work

A second pitfall in project design has to do with the processes and goals of project work. Again, all too often, weak goals and processes, or the absence of goals altogether, characterize project design. The consequence of weak processes or the absence of aims is that the curriculum activity fails to cultivate the kind of intelligence Dewey saw as key to democratic schooling. Dewey argued that progressive schools should aim at the cultivation of purposes, which are reflective goals and the plans and activities to execute them. Purposes, for Dewey, are fundamental to democratic citizenship because the capacity to collectively transform naive desires into reflective goal-directed activity is precisely what is required of a free people. He recalled Plato's definition of a slave as someone who carries out the purposes of others but added that the individual who lives by whim is "equally directed by forces over which he has no command" (p. 76). During the rise of progressive education, advocates of the project method spoke of projects as "whole-hearted purposeful activity," (see Kilpatrick, 1925, p. 349) and promoted a curriculum composed of sequential purposes. What follows is a closer examination of the concept of purpose and its significance for designing project work.

The complex intellectual process of constructing a purpose starts with an impulse. For Dewey (1938), there was no sounder principle of progressive education "than its emphasis upon the learner in the formation of the purposes which direct his activities" (p. 77). Children and adults have many impulses. When any impulse is initially blocked, the obstructed impulse becomes a desire. Parents and teachers are all too familiar with this phase in the formation of a purpose. The child sees a commercial on television for a toy; the parent says "no." The impulse is frustrated. If the impulse is relatively fleeting, the child may forget about the toy; however, if the impulse is strong, it may spur thinking about how the toy can be obtained. The difference between an impulse or desire and a purpose is the intervening process of reflective thought:

> A purpose is an end-view. That is, it involves foresight of the consequences which will result from acting on impulse. . . . It demands, in the first place, observation of objective conditions and circumstances. For impulse and desire produce consequences not by themselves alone but through their interaction or co-operation with surrounding conditions. . . . As in the sign by a railway crossing, we have to stop, look, listen. (Dewey, 1938, pp. 78-79)

This idea of stopping, of inhibiting impulse for the sake of observation and judgment, is a manifestation

of the power of self-control. Dewey (1938) called the creation of this power the "ideal aim of education," since it stands opposed to acting capriciously:

> The alternative to externally imposed inhibition is inhibition through an individual's own reflection and judgment. The old phrase "stop and think" is sound psychology. For thinking is stoppage of the immediate manifestation of impulse until that impulse has been brought into connection with other possible tendencies to action so that a more comprehensive and coherent plan of action is formed. (p. 74)

But this stopping and careful observation of objective conditions is not enough. There has to be an understanding of the consequences of acting in a particular way. In familiar situations, Dewey explained, we so closely associate acting a certain way with a consequence that we do not have to recall at great length our prior experiences. In new or uncertain situations, however, we have to stop and think more carefully in order to form a judgment as to what to do. Thus, the formation of a purpose involves three phases:

> It involves (1) observation of surrounding conditions; (2) knowledge of what has happened in similar situations in the past, a knowledge obtained partly by recollection and partly from the information, advice, and warning of those who have had a wider experience; and (3) judgment which puts together what is observed and what is recalled to see what they signify. (Dewey, 1938, p. 80)

In sum, formation of purpose starts with an impulse, a desire, and involves the development of a blueprint for attaining an aim based on foresight of its consequences. Desire forms the "moving springs of action" (Dewey, 1938, p. 82), but ultimately without an objective analysis of conditions, without inquiry, no successful plan can be formulated. According to Dewey, the desire will remain merely a wish.

Dewey's emphasis on the distinction between desire and purpose is an explicit criticism of romantic strains of progressive education that, in his view, made the error of identifying purposeful activity with mere activity. As an example of the latter, I recently observed a first-grade teacher engage her students in a project on water. Her students took a variety of objects, predicted whether or not those objects would sink or float in a water table, dropped them in the water, and then recorded observations on a sheet of paper. The discernment of patterns, the attempt to generate a rule regarding sinking or floating, or some other larger aim, were all missing. The students were busy, but this activity did not require the planning, the "stopping and thinking," and the examination of means and ends that would constitute reflective thinking. In contrast, purposeful activity by definition is *intelligent* activity:

> Intelligent activity is distinguished from aimless activity by the fact that it involves selection of means—analysis—out of the variety of conditions that are present, and their arrangement—synthesis—to reach an intended aim or purpose. That the more immature the learner is, the simpler must be the ends held in view and the more rudimentary the means employed is obvious. But the principle of organization of activity in terms of some perception of the relation of consequences to means applies even with the very young. Otherwise an activity ceases to be educative because it is blind. (Dewey, 1938, pp. 105-106)

This principle, applied to a project curriculum, means that projects must start with a heartfelt desire on the part of the children and must include the processes of observation, gathering information, analysis, and synthesis in the formation of a plan of action toward some goal, which itself is open to revision. The sink-and-float activity described above violates this principle of organization of activity because it does not engage the children in the arrangement and study of means and consequences to goals. Like other curriculum activities that give emphasis to process alone, it is directionless and misses an opportunity to cultivate reflective thinking. An emphasis on process without an eye to an end view is busyness; an emphasis on goals without careful study of how to attain them means the goals will remain illusive.

In his influential work on the project method first published in 1923, Collings advanced several important criteria related to the selection of purposes. First, he asked, "Does the proposed purpose *genuinely grip* boys and girls?" (Collings, 1993, p. 179). Is the element of whole-heartedness present? Second, Collings proposed, "Does the proposed purpose lend itself to *successful* realization on the part of boys and girls?" (p. 179). Is it within the reach of the students, given their current level of mastery and skill? Is it practical, given the resources? Finally, he wrote, "Does the proposed purpose prospectively lead to *other and different* lines of purposes in the process of its realization?" (p. 180). Here again is the idea articulated in the previous section of this paper: does the purpose carry over to other lines of inquiry? In Collings' view, if a proposed project meets these three criteria, then the teacher and students can move to the process of planning and executing the project. Dewey (1938) pointed out that educational growth depends on the presence of difficulty. The purpose has to pose some challenge, but the problem must be tractable. One important aspect of the project method that Collings emphasized is the idea of debriefing the project upon completion. Assessing the product and reviewing the adequacy of the plans either as a group or individually constitutes a vital phase of project method and indicates how important it is for projects to have goals. Kilpatrick (1936) asserted the importance of reviewing the project itself—and particularly the quality of the thinking that went into a project—when he wrote that an important objective of the method was "*ever better acting* on thinking, ever better thinking to tell how to act, what to do; ever closer study of the results of the acting so as to test and correct and improve thinking" (p. 115).

It should be clear from this discussion that for Dewey, the point of progressive pedagogy was to develop the capacity to engage in purposeful behavior—and that purposes entail reflective thinking processes aimed at the examination and attainment of goals. For him, the absence of goals signified directionless activity, "which leads to identification of freedom with immediate execution of impulses and desires" (Dewey, 1938, p. 81). On the other hand, the attainment of goals requires complex intellectual operations that must be honed. Both product and process are integrally necessary to the conduct of intelligent activity and the cultivation of freedom: "freedom which is power: power to frame purposes, to judge wisely, to evaluate desires by the consequences that will result from action upon them; power to select and order means to carry chosen ends into operation" (Dewey, 1938, p. 74). Democracy requires that all children have the opportunity to form purposes through reflective thinking.

Discussion

A look at Dewey's theoretical analysis of progressive education suggests that subject matter content, processes, and products (end views) are all vital to intelligent activity. To the extent that projects aim at the cultivation of intelligence, they should reflect the principles discussed above. In early childhood education, it is common for processes to be given emphasis in part as a reaction to the product orientation of the elementary curriculum. As fallacious as the primary grades' emphasis on end results is, it is equally erroneous to downplay the importance of goals and products in the education of young children. All children need the guidance and care of their teachers in the cultivation of the skills, dispositions, and knowledge to form good goals and the plans to attain them (Dewey, 1938). Teachers' assisting children in the formation of purposes, as Dewey pointed out, serves the child's freedom rather than abridges it.

Another implication of this paper is the fundamental role the philosophical foundations of education play in the development of curriculum for young children. Most teacher candidates take, at most, a survey course or two in the social foundations. Increasingly, these courses are taught by adjunct faculty or individuals without a degree in the field. The psychological foundations, instead, are the dominant

source of foundational knowledge for curriculum in elementary and early childhood education. While the psychological foundations are fundamental and support the romantic emphasis on child growth shared by many teachers of young children, Dewey would point out that the psychological foundations cannot provide normative conceptions of education; they cannot offer visions of what ought to be. For teachers to have purposes, too, in the sense that Dewey discussed them above, requires much more rigorous work in the preservice curriculum in the social foundations (the study of the objective conditions of schooling) and philosophy of education (the study of normative conceptions of education).

Finally, the implementation of progressive pedagogy is very difficult. No one said it would be easy, particularly in the context of today's *zeitgeist* of testing and standards. Our current educational leaders hardly conceive of the schools as a context for the kind of democratic living that Dewey and others advocated in the first half of the 20th century. But the consequence of not struggling along these lines is, as Dewey suggested, to be controlled by forces that will remain a source of mystification to us.

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Implementing the Project Approach in Part-time Early Childhood Education Programs

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Abstract

This paper explores both the benefits and the difficulties of using the Project Approach in part-time early childhood education programs. Teachers of three different types of part-time programs share their experiences one year after taking a one-credit course in the Project Approach. The teachers' responses are organized by topic as follows: (1) curriculum, (2) assessment, (3) parent involvement, (4) time and space management, (5) lesson plans, and (6) program quality. The article notes that one year after initial training in the Project Approach, the teachers in these three part-day programs remain enthusiastic about the approach and have been fairly consistent in including it in their curriculum. They value the approach because it lends direction to their lesson planning, involves parents, helps with collection of samples for assessment, challenges children with diverse abilities, and provides for a more well-rounded "hands-on" curriculum.

Introduction

In my experience, teachers of part-time early childhood education programs often dismiss the possibility of trying the Project Approach in their classrooms because they believe that it will be impossible to implement given their existing classroom structure. Their concerns center around the lack of daily teacher contact with the children, the inability of children to work together given the discontinuities in their schedules of attendance, short class days, and the difficulty involved in managing multiple projects

in space that is shared by two or more groups of children. It is possible that teachers of part-time programs do not always see the possibilities for successful implementation of this approach because they have always seen it presented as it functions in a full-time program. Hearing the stories of part-time programs that have successfully begun to implement the Project Approach may prove to be helpful in this regard.

In the spring of 1999, I offered to teach a one-credit-hour class on the Project Approach on-site at a child care center in Princeton, Illinois, a small town in north central Illinois. I was delighted on the first night of class to find that the members of this class included teachers from three types of part-time early childhood programs. With great interest, I watched, listened, and documented the experiences of implementing the Project Approach that these teachers shared during our weekly class meetings. I was curious to see whether their experiences would support my earlier claim that doing project work provides continuity to programs in which children do not attend full time, or in which children follow irregular attendance patterns (Beneke, 1998).

The teachers completed their first project as a requirement of the one-credit class. At the time, I was pleased with the overwhelmingly positive response to their experience of introducing project work in their teaching. However, I wondered whether their enthusiasm would fade as time distanced them from the support offered by their fellow students and instructor. I wondered whether these teachers of part-time programs would find project work to be as useful as have many teachers of full-day programs. So it was with great curiosity that I recently visited each of these teachers in their respective classrooms and interviewed them about their response to project work one year after their initial training and first implementation of the approach. I asked them to share both the benefits and the obstacles to implementing projects in their program, and I also asked them to offer advice about getting started in implementing the Project Approach to teachers of part-time programs. My hope is that their comments will allay some of those concerns that seem to deter teachers of part-time programs from trying the Project Approach. In addition, this article contains the comments of the administrator of two of the programs. For the sake of discussion, I have organized their responses under the following headings: curriculum, assessment, parent involvement, time and space management, lesson plans, and program quality.

The Three Programs

Gingerbread House Nursery School

Jan Whitlock, Mary Stone, and Julie Brown are the three teachers at Gingerbread House Nursery School in Princeton, Illinois. This private preschool has served two generations in this small community. Forty children ages 3–5 attend the program on either a two- or three-day pattern (see attendance pattern table). Class sizes range from 13 to 18, grouping is multi-age, and children attend for approximately 2-1/2 hours per session. All three teachers work on a part-time basis and share the same classroom.

Malden Early Childhood Special Education Program

Kathy Bankes teaches in a multi-age cross-categorical early childhood special education program at an elementary school in Malden, Illinois. The children in her class have been identified as having a significant delay (at least one year) in one or more areas of development. Children in her class attend either four mornings or four afternoons per week (see attendance pattern table). A maximum of 10 children may be enrolled in each class. One day per week is available to Kathy for home visits,

professional development, and classroom preparation. Her assistant teacher was also a member of the one-credit Project Approach class, but she has since resigned from the school. Renee H. is currently the aide in Kathy's classroom.

Malden Prekindergarten At-Risk Program

Renee Carlson teaches a multi-age prekindergarten at-risk program in the same building with Kathy Bankes. Her students also attend either four mornings or four afternoons per week, but her maximum enrollment is 15 per class. Children are identified for Renee's class by any of a number of developmental or environmental criteria that indicate that they could be at-risk for future school failure. Like Kathy, Renee has one day per week for home visits, professional development, and classroom preparation. Her assistant teacher, Penny, was also a member of the one-credit class on the Project Approach.

Deb Dalton is the administrator of the early childhood programs at Malden public schools. Deb was formerly a teacher in both early childhood special education and prekindergarten at-risk classrooms. She took part in a one-credit course on the Work Sampling System (Meisels et al., 1994) also attended by her teachers.

Curriculum

All three of the Gingerbread House teachers continue to be very enthusiastic about project work and were pleased to share information and documentation of a long-term project on the community that they recently completed. Their display revealed highly individualized and creative work by the children, as well as an understanding of many of the businesses and services that make up a community (Figs. 1 & 2). In discussing the way their teaching has changed, Mary explained:

> It seemed we used to do a theme like "flowers," and for that week we'd have to do an art project about flowers. We'd have to find the book about flowers. And we might talk about them a little bit. Now we're doing more in-depth study. It's more concrete and more hands-on. We say, "Okay, we're going to plant flowers, and we're going to draw the flowers." For example, last semester, we planted Paper White bulbs. And every day the kids drew them, and they measured. And every day they couldn't wait to come in and measure how high they had gotten.

Figure 1. A piece of the Community Project wall display depicting the "weigh thing" at the recycling center.

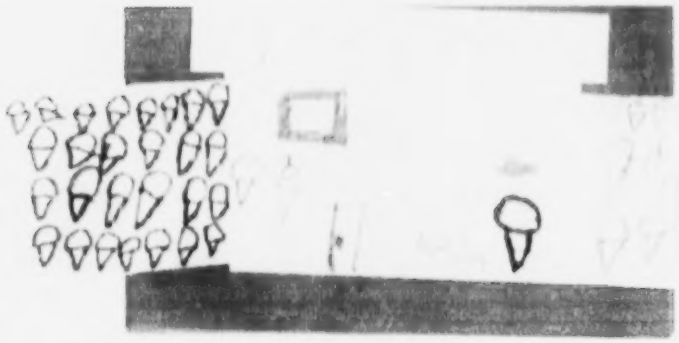

Figure 2. A child's representation of the local ice cream parlor from the Community Project wall display.

Mary shared her belief that the most helpful thing about project work is the contribution it makes to planning, "I think it's easier mainly because you have a goal—to see, first of all, what knowledge the children have, where their interests are, and then once you know where they want to go, it's easier to plan along those lines." Planning is based on the children's interests. One way the teachers pick up on the children's interest is by listening to what the children say, for example, "if they were still asking questions, or if they ask for materials." Mary explained that they have learned to shift the focus of their lesson plans to match the children's interests:

> We could start out the week talking about the postman, but if they didn't get into the postman, and they were really interested in something else, it doesn't take a long time to change and get the information that they want. It's not set in stone—what we're going to do.

Project work has also influenced these teachers to include more science in their curriculum. Mary said, "I guess when we first started to do this, we realized that we weren't doing as much science as we

thought we were. So now we've really picked up on the science."

Selecting a common overall topic of study for all four groups of children who use their classroom setting has helped these teachers to create a context that unites the children in their programs, despite the discontinuities created by varying schedules and combinations of teachers. This practice eliminates the concern that teachers of part-time programs may have about planning and implementing projects for more than one classroom at one time. Individual classes of children may be interested in different aspects of the project, but these interests generally complement one another and contribute to the experiences of all the children. Mary added, "I find, myself, that it almost has to be a topic that I'm somewhat interested in, too, or I can't get my enthusiasm across to them."

In their respective classrooms at Malden Elementary School, Renee and Kathy also typically select one topic that is investigated by both the morning and the afternoon classes in their programs. This strategy helps them to plan experiences and collect resources for both the morning and the afternoon classes that meet in each of their rooms. Recently, Renee and Kathy have selected the farm as a topic of investigation that has been shared by their two classrooms. This topic is natural for investigation because the Malden school sits along the edge of a cornfield where the children often see tractors and combines. One of the fathers of a child in Renee's class brought a tractor, a combine (Fig. 3), and a semi to class over a period of several weeks, and Kathy's class was able to take advantage of the wonderful opportunity to explore and draw these farm implements along with Renee's class. The two classes also took two field trips together to the local John Deere implement dealer and to a local farm where they explored a hay loft and saw many animals and grain bins. Kathy explained that they did their field trips together, but then "each room sort of did their own thing" to develop the project in their own classroom.

Figure 3. Children from Malden school look at a combine.

Like the teachers from Gingerbread House, the two Malden teachers of part-time programs see the first-hand exploration as one of the biggest changes in the way they teach. When asked how their curriculum differed from what they would have done before they learned how to implement the Project Approach, Kathy replied, "We wouldn't have done as many field trips and seen things first hand. It would have been more of an intellectual thing, rather than the kids actually doing."

As an administrator, Deb Dalton is very pleased with the effect of the Project Approach on her school. When asked how she thinks the teachers' study of project work has affected their teaching, she answered:

> I think it's made them think of what level the children are on and where they are taking the kids. I think the webbing does that a lot. Instead of cute themes, they really have to look at where the kids are and what they're doing, what they are interested in. And then they have to figure out how to teach it. They can't find that [ready-made] in a book. [In this process], they've had the kids do things that you don't often think about young children doing. For example, they had two of the kids in the Farm Project do a tally of their favorite farm animals. And the kids did it as a team.

Deb really likes the Project Approach because it serves children with diverse abilities: "It really stretches some of them. And yet, it also allows the child who is not functioning as well, like some of the children in our early childhood special education class, to produce something and to pull on their language abilities."

Deb believes that teachers who use the Project Approach do more work than they would if they were using a traditional curriculum. In the typical early childhood curriculum, more reliance is placed on books:

> You know, you can buy a book that says, "101 Things to Do with Teddy Bears." With this [project work], they've got to plan field trips, they've got to be talking to people. They've got to figure out what's hands on [that the children can explore]. They have to bring in the stuff that the kids use to create—make things available to the kids beyond papers with the directions for a fingerplay.

Assessment

As more and more part-time programs begin to adopt systematic authentic assessment practices, identifying ways to collect samples has become increasingly important. Teachers of children who attend part-time programs often have more than twice the number of children to assess than teachers of similarly aged children in full-day programs. For example, the three teachers at Gingerbread House have 45 children to assess at the end of each collection period. It was very clear in talking with these teachers that they have found project work useful in providing samples for assessment. In fact, they observed that providing samples for documentation is one of the most useful things about the Project Approach. Julie observed that since implementing the Project Approach, "We do more documentation than we used to." Jan had previously taken a one-credit course on using the Work Sampling System. Work sampling is a system for authentic assessment that includes a checklist, portfolio, and narrative summary report (Meisels et al., 1994). She has shared what she learned with Mary and Julie, and together they have designed their own Core Item sheets for portfolio collection. They were eager to share examples of project work that they had collected for the children's portfolios. For example, Mary brought out social studies samples produced as a result of a trip to the lumber store that took place during the Community Project. The accompanying Core Item sheet summarizes the learning that is demonstrated in the two samples (Fig. 4). In one sample, a child whose cat had recently died had drawn a grave marker for the cat and then built the marker out of wood, using his two-dimensional plan as a guide (Fig. 5). He also built a model of a vacuum cleaner and then drew it (Fig. 6).

Name Seth S

Collection Period Spring 1124/00 and 1/26/00

Domain: Social Studies

Area of Learning: Describes jobs people do

Development: Preschool children are eager to examine their community and explore the many roles people fill in helping each other live. They often use the arts (dramatic play, music, painting and blocks) to express the role of a particular community worker.

Our Allen Lumber Company Center was a great asset in providing opportunities for the children to explore the role of a construction worker and to use the tools required to perform this job.

Seth loves working with tools! He has excellent control and strength when using the hammer.

He made two things while working in the center ... a vacuum and a little figure to mark his calls grade.

Figure 4. This Core Item sheet summarizes the learning that is demonstrated in two work samples.

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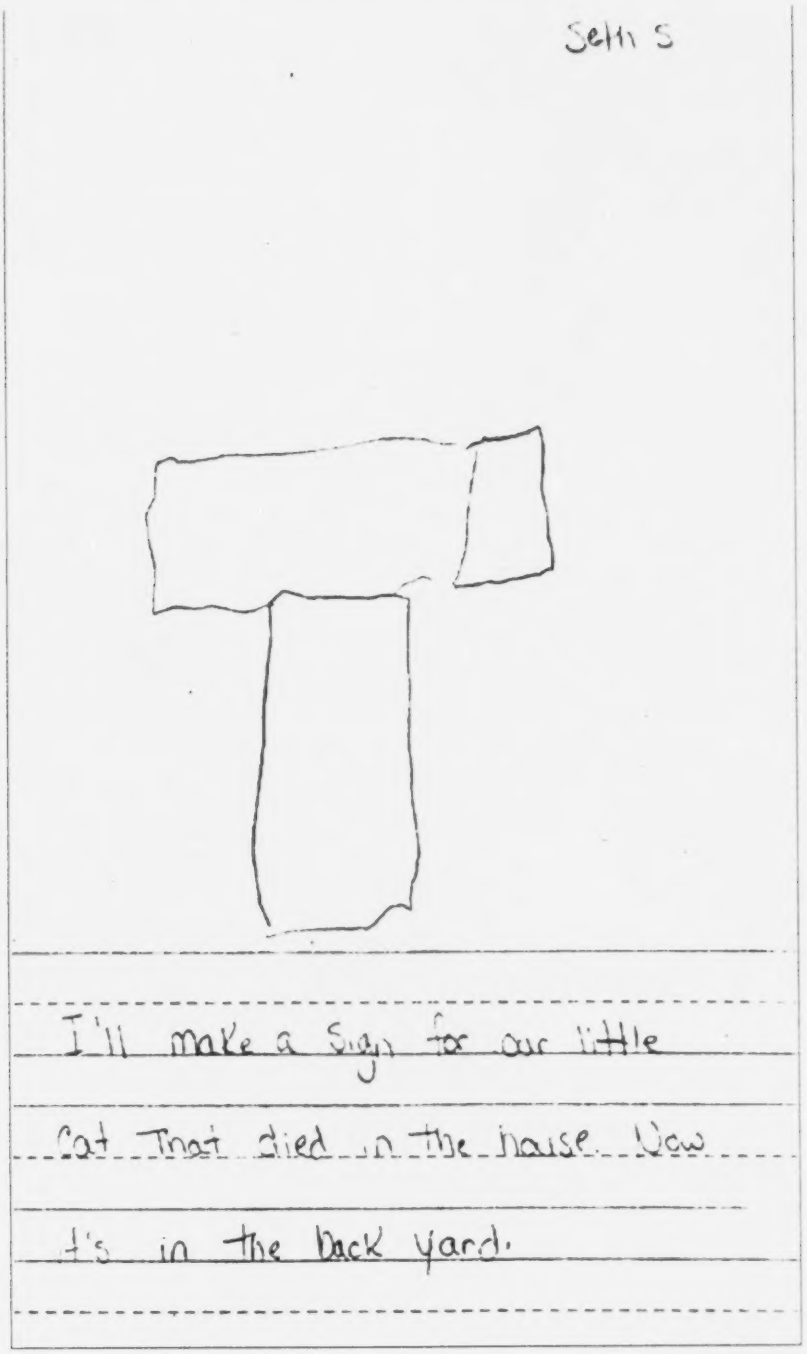

Figure 5. A child whose cat had recently died had drawn a grave marker for the cat and then built the marker out of wood, using his two-dimensional plan as a guide.

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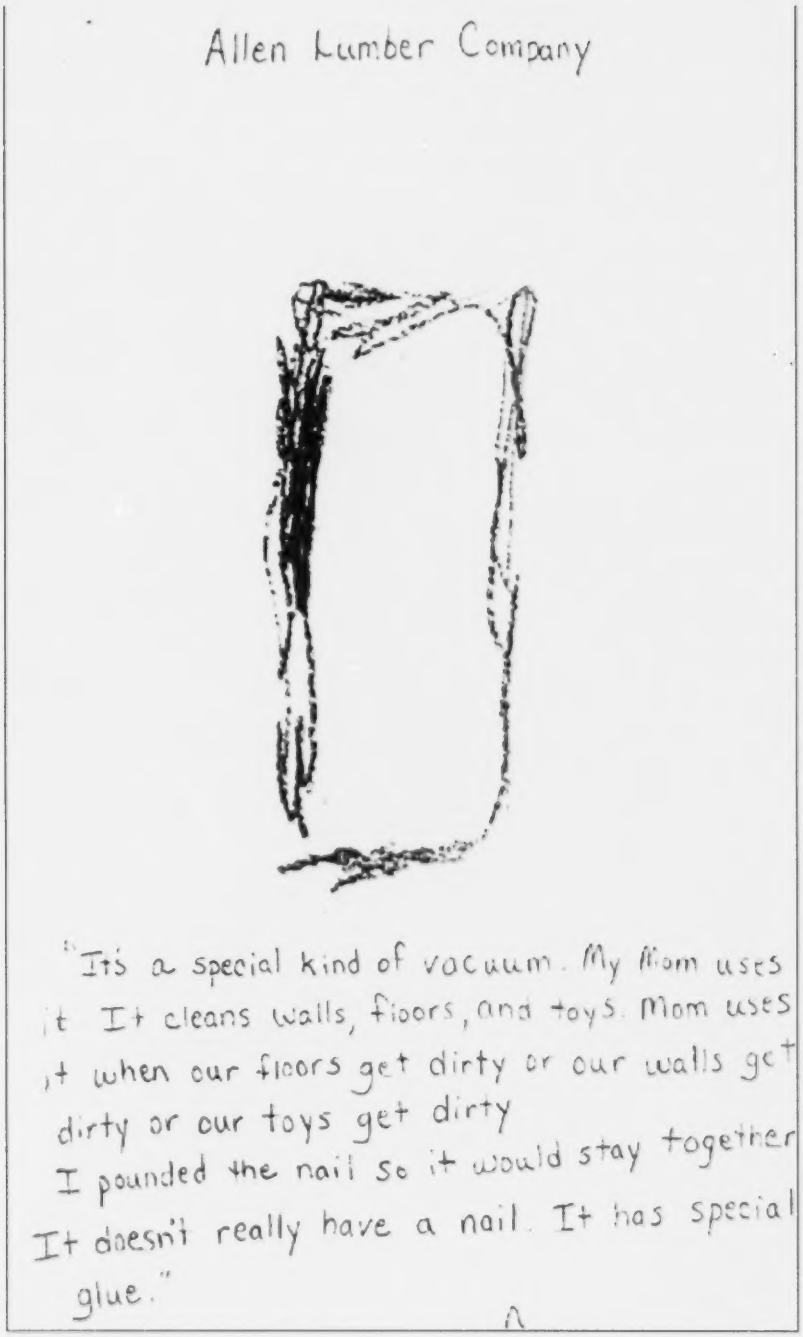
Allen Lumber Company
"It's a special kind of vacuum. My Mom uses it It cleans walls, floors, and toys. Mom uses it when our floors get dirty or our walls get dirty or our toys get dirty
I pounded the nail so it would stay together It doesn't really have a nail. It has special glue."

Figure 6. A child built a model of a vacuum cleaner and then drew it.

Teamwork appears to be a key ingredient in the successful implementation of the Project Approach and documentation in this program where children and teachers are present on variable schedules. The Gingerbread House teachers handle the discontinuities in staffing and children's attendance by sharing a list of the documentation that is needed. Mary explained their approach this way:

> I do the Monday/Wednesday/Friday morning class, and Julie takes the afternoon class, and Jan takes the Tuesday/Thursday morning class, so that, really, I'm more in tune with the morning class, because I do their

> portfolios. But, we always leave a running list of what we're looking for, so that, for example, if Jan's not here one day, we can get the samples that she needs.

These teachers are very comfortable with sharing the role of planner, lead teacher, assistant, and documenter. As Mary put it, "Our schedules may look complicated, but it works well for us."

The importance of drawing in project work and the insight it provides into a child's understanding are valued by all three of these teachers. As part of their Community Project, the Gingerbread House children took a field trip to the local Country Kitchen restaurant. Mary, Jan, and Julie showed me how the children's field sketches reflected what they had noticed and what had been important to them during their trip. For example, one boy's sketch included the pancake flipper from the kitchen, the balloons that were given out, and the Mickey Mouse pancakes they were served (Figs. 7 & 8).

Figure 7. The children took a field trip to a restaurant and ordered Mickey Mouse pancakes.

Figure 8. This field sketch shows what one child noticed during a field trip to a restaurant.

Kathy has been particularly impressed with the drawings that her students have produced in the process of project work. In the past, she has had difficulty motivating the children in her class to draw on their own. Her students typically are delayed at least one year and often have multiple impairments. She shared a drawing of the combine by a 5-year-old girl, who drew a picture of the ladder and the window of the combine during the Farm Project (Fig. 9). Prior to this experience, Kathy had not seen any recognizable shapes in this child's drawings. Putting the drawing in the context of a project helps the teacher to recognize what the child is attempting to draw.

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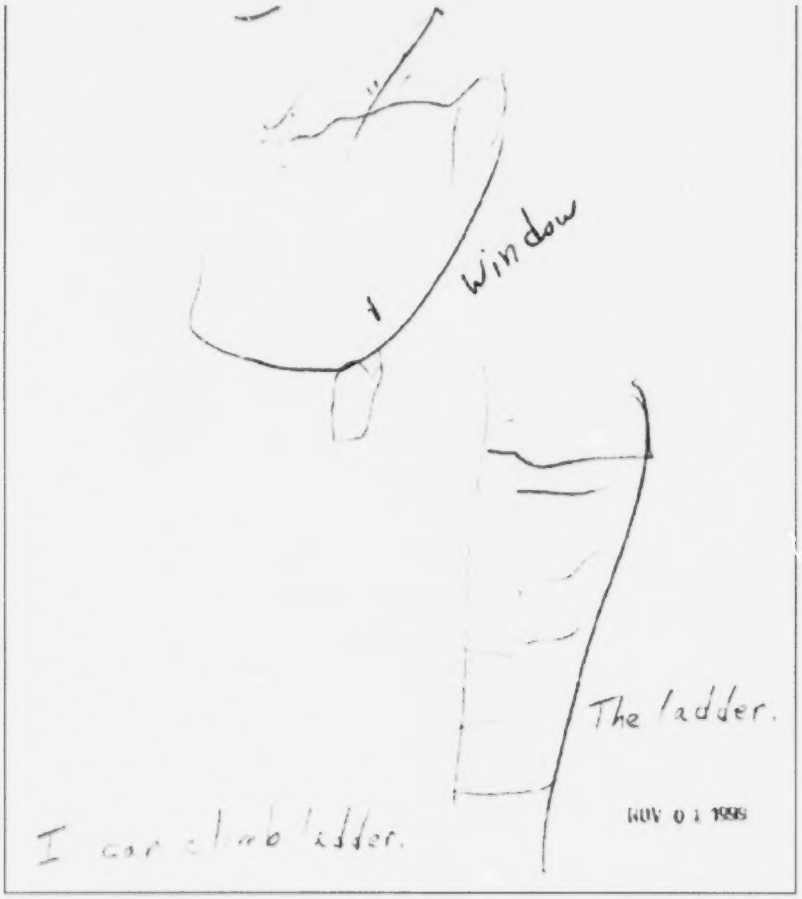

Figure 9. A 5-year-old girl drew a picture of the ladder and the window of the combine during the Farm Project.

Renee finds the drawings that children produce during project work helpful for demonstrating children's growth and understanding. For example, she showed me drawings of the combine by one little boy on November 1 (Time #1) (Fig. 10) and contrasted them with his drawing of a semi on November 9 (Time #2) (Fig. 11). In the first drawing, he was interested in many of the parts of the combine, but they were not enclosed or connected into a whole. In the second drawing, the little boy was able to include many parts, and he was able to convey information about how they fit together into a whole truck.

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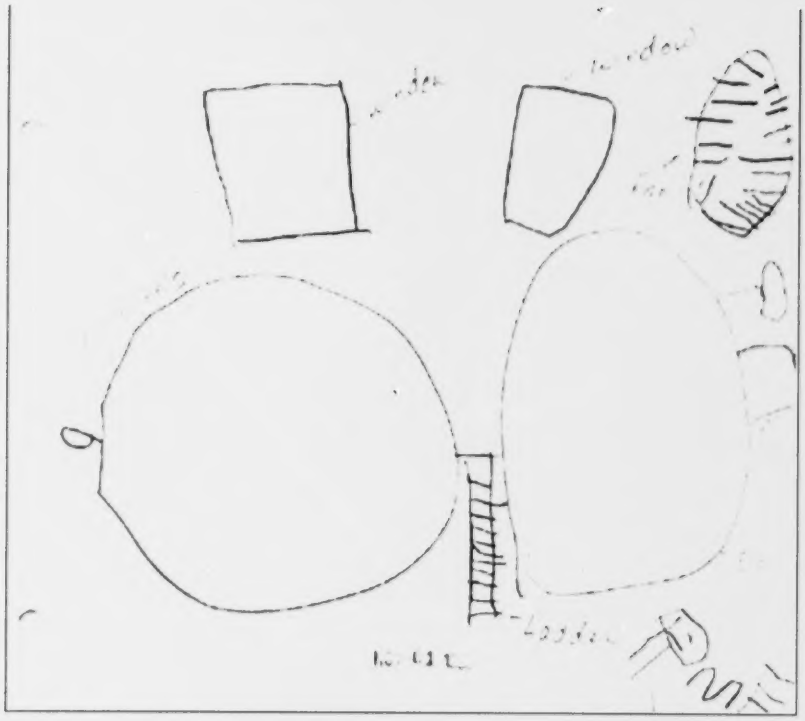

Figure 10. A child's drawing of a combine on November 1 (Time #1).

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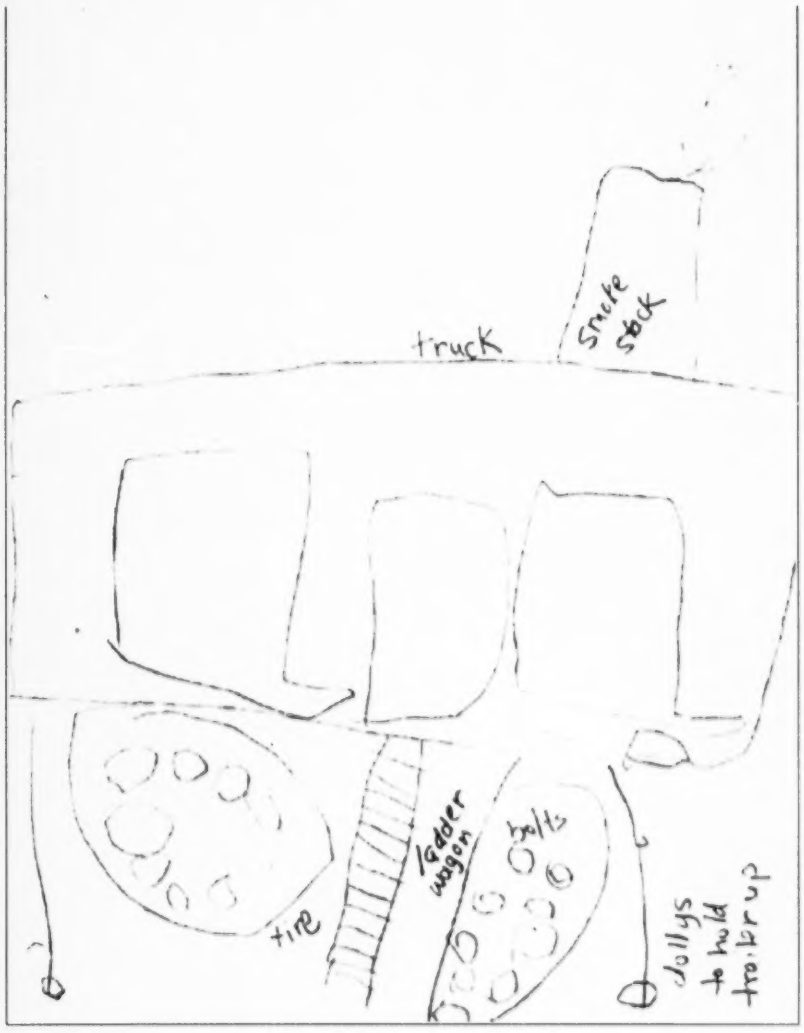

Figure 11. A later drawing by the same child of a semi on November 9 (Time #2).

Parent Involvement

The challenge of parent involvement is similar to the challenge of assessment for teachers of children in part-time programs in the sense that there are simply more parents to involve than there would be in a typical full-time program. The Gingerbread House teachers have been very impressed with the involvement of their students' parents in project work. For example, in their recent Community Project, parents were sent an optional sheet on which they could describe their job. The teachers were surprised at the number and quality of the responses they received (Fig. 12). The teachers indicated their feeling that when parents are kept aware of the ongoing project, a better home-school connection is formed. They saw this connection in the Community Project where they noted that parents were "really supportive. They were interested."

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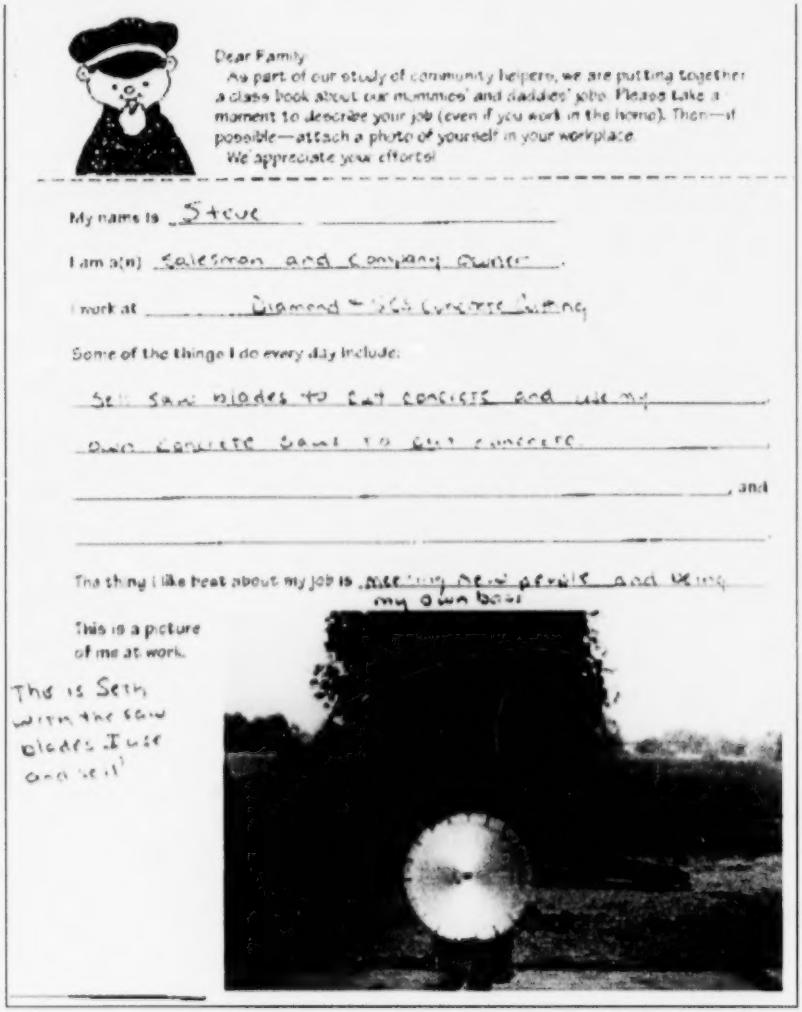

Dear Family
As part of our study of community helpers, we are putting together a class book about our mommies' and daddies' jobs. Please take a moment to describe your job (even if you work in the home). Then—if possible—attach a photo of yourself in your workplace.
We appreciate your efforts!

My name is Steve

I am a(n) salesman and company owner.

I work at Diamond Tech Concrete Cutting

Some of the things I do every day include:

Sell saw blades to cut concrete and use my own concrete saw to cut concrete, and

The thing I like best about my job is meeting new people and using my own boat.

This is a picture of me at work.

This is Seth with the saw blades I use and sell!

Figure 12. A father filled in an optional sheet sent home as part of the Community Project.

Renee has a concern that it is sometimes "hard for the parent to understand the project until it's all done—until you have a project display board to show them," and you can say, "we've done this, this, and this." She sometimes sends a "week in preview" letter home to the parents, but this approach is more difficult with the Project Approach because she's not always sure what will interest the children. On the positive side, parents are invited to help out when the children go on field trips; consequently, the increased number of field trips that the Malden early childhood students have been taking have translated into more parent contacts.

Deb Dalton, the administrator of the Malden programs, finds that the memory books that Renee and Kathy make are really valuable to parents. These are simply bound, laminated books that contain the drawings the children have made and photographs that were taken during a project. For example, both Kathy and Renee have memory books about the combine and the semi for their classes. These books are kept out in the hall all year, and parents, as well as other children and staff at the school, love to look at them when they visit the school.

Deb says that it has not been costly for her teachers to implement the Project Approach because so

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many of the parents have donated items. She used the current project in Renee's classroom on the grocery store and a past project on the post office as examples: "Parents brought in everything for the grocery store, and parents either brought in or they got from the grocery store, or [from] recycling, everything the children used for the Post Office Project."

Time and Space Management

All the individuals that I interviewed identified some aspect of time as an obstacle to project work. However, in each case, these statements were tempered with statements about the benefits of the approach that seem to justify the time spent. For example, Julie, Jan, and Mary agree that if the children are not interested in what's taking place in school, the time spent in school is less satisfying and a "waste of time" for both the children and the teachers. Consequently, even though they say that it takes a lot of time to prepare for and document project work, they feel that in the long run, it is a better use of their time. Authentic assessment and project work are so intertwined in the practice of these three teachers that their comments regarding obstacles were centered on the time it takes to develop the skills for managing children's portfolios.

Kathy noted that project work is "very time-consuming" in terms of "gathering up and finding materials and setting up field trips." On the other hand, she added, "time-consuming is good. It seems like your whole focus is on the topic, and you're really involved in it." Reflecting about the concerns of other teachers of part-time programs who believe that it will not work to include project work in their part-time programs, Kathy observed:

> Until I actually tried, I think I might have said the same things too, but when I see what these children can do and how involved they get . . . they're really, really interested in it. And being a half-day program, [to make it work] you just stretch things out. It takes longer.

Kathy is sometimes frustrated about the time available during the year to finish an in-depth project. Referring to the Farm Project, she said that she felt as if "we could've spent another month at least on it, because we had some that were interested in farm machinery, and they would have done more, I think, if we would have had time." The beginning of the long winter vacation caused them to end the project.

Renee and Kathy sometimes find it frustrating to complete a project, given the half-day schedule. Children attend her program from 8:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. or from 12:00 p.m. to 2:30 p.m. Project work often is deferred due to other valuable experiences, such as 45-minute physical education classes and regularly scheduled visits to the school library. These teachers have to think of ways to keep project interest and momentum up. Often, they can accomplish this goal by simply reminding the children involved. For example, a boy in Renee's class had been particularly interested in the cash register on their field trip to the grocery store. When they returned from the store, he began to construct a model of the cash register for their classroom grocery store. At the end of class, they saved the partially completed construction and a Polaroid photograph they had taken of the actual cash register at the store. Almost a week later, they interested him in resuming work on the cash register by showing him the construction and photograph and saying, "remember when you were working on this?" He may also have been interested in resuming work on the construction because he could see that it was needed as a prop for the class grocery store that was under construction in the dramatic play area.

Deb describes the way Renee and Kathy manage the shared space:

> If one child has made something, like a cash register, in the morning class, and the other kids come in in the afternoon

> and say, "What's that?," then they just say, "that's a cash register that the kids in the morning made," and they just incorporate it into their play. And there have been some times when they've maybe added to it or painted some more on it. They just seem to think it's their project, whether it's the morning or the afternoon class.

Jan, Mary, and Julie had similar observations. When asked, they could not think of a time when the children ever had a problem sharing their space with the constructions produced by children from other sections. Julie explained that "when kids would come on Tuesday, and somebody on Monday had already started something, they would finish it, and the first child would come back on Wednesday and they would not be offended that this person on Tuesday had worked on their project. There has never been a problem with that." On only a few occasions, there have been children who have worked on a special construction that they wanted the teachers to set aside for them until the next class meeting, but the teachers did not see these requests as problematic. "The other kids knew that, that was theirs, and they couldn't bother it."

Lesson Plans

Julie, Mary, and Jan operate as a team in many of the administrative duties of Gingerbread House, as well as in the teaching duties. Each teacher creates the lesson plans for designated days of the week (see attendance pattern table). Plans are made on a week-by-week basis. Because they are each so intimately involved with the life of the current project, they do not find it difficult to plan for the coming week. They allow each other the flexibility to make changes in the plans based on the interests of the children in their individual classes.

Renee and Kathy are in a somewhat different situation because they are required to submit their plans to a school administrator. However, their administrator has given them the flexibility to respond to the interests of the children in their classes. "Deb is fine with it if we write project work in [a section of] our lesson plans, but some other administrators might not be. They want to know exactly what you're doing." Renee believes this flexibility is allowed because "Deb sees what we do, and she took the [work sampling] class, so she has a good idea of what we're doing and understands. She is very supportive." When asked about her expectations that teachers will follow their plans as written, Deb explained that she sees the teachers' lesson plans as a projection of where the curriculum might go during the week, but "they may or may not have done what's on them [the plans]." She sees lesson plans as a way of thinking about what might happen and planning for the possibilities, but she doesn't believe teachers should be bound by them: "You don't have to be on page one when it says page one. No teacher should, not even in high school."

Program Quality

When asked to reflect on how the Project Approach has affected the quality of their programs, the teachers of all three part-time classrooms were decidedly positive. Mary, Jan, and Julie believe that project work has made their program "more substantial." In explaining their reasoning, Mary stated, "We're not doing all of the teaching. They [the children] are teaching each other. It seems that we are letting them take more responsibility. I feel that the quality of our program has definitely gone up." They agree that they had a good program before, but according to Julie, "This is just better. They come up with some of the most intelligent things! It's just unbelievable to me what kids this age can do and think." Mary agreed and added, "I think doing project work makes you a better listener."

Kathy and Renee are also positive about the effect of the Project Approach on their part-day program. They feel that it challenges the children in their classrooms and enables the teachers to assess children's ability to apply knowledge and skills in a natural context. They believe that by documenting and sharing the project work of the children, others in their community have been able to see the potential of young children to do meaningful work:

> We presented to the school board, and they were just amazed. One response was that they couldn't believe these were 3- and 4-year-olds doing this work. I showed them the project we did on the post office, and the things they drew in the [memory] book, and the mailbox the kids created. They were just surprised that students this young were doing that kind of work.

Conclusions

One year after initial training in the Project Approach, the teachers in these three part-day programs remain enthusiastic about the approach and have been fairly consistent in including it in their curriculum. Although they have occasional difficulty finding the time to do project work on a consistent, day-to-day basis, or for as many weeks as they might wish, they have few other frustrations with using the approach. On the whole, they appear to see the Project Approach as an enhancement to the quality of their teaching and to their students' learning. They value the approach because it lends direction to their lesson planning, involves parents, helps with collection of samples for assessment, challenges children with diverse abilities, and provides for a more well-rounded "hands-on" curriculum. Large portions of the afternoons in many full-day programs are often taken up with lunch, naptime, and outdoor play, so the amount of time available to some part-day programs for project work may be more comparable than it might seem at first glance.

The potential of rich topics to interest and unite multiple classrooms may be one reason that the Project Approach works so successfully in these part-time programs. The teachers were able to follow the interests of the different groups of children in different aspects of a topic. The products produced by following these aspects enhanced the shared play environment. Had each group in an environment shared by two or more part-day programs been investigating a different topic, the approach might not have been as successful.

The teachers interviewed here were teaching part-day classes that met at least two days per week, and most met three or four days per week. They felt that the children in their classes met frequently enough to work well together on the project. However, it seems likely that a class that meets only one day per week would not have the same success. On the other hand, it may be that we, as adults, do not give children enough credit for having the desire and ability to maintain interest in a topic over time.

Similarly, it may be that when we doubt children's ability to share the construction of the products of a project with other children whom they never see, we are imposing our own adult sense of competition and territoriality on them. Perhaps the need to impress others with their individual performance may be less important to young children than is the need to develop a rich play environment by building on each other's efforts to construct props. It was clear in talking to teachers from all three of these part-day classrooms that sharing space for construction of project work was not a problem.

The grouping of the children in these classes may also have contributed to the successful implementation of the Project Approach. Multi-age grouping was used in all three of these programs. The older or more developmentally advanced students were able to maintain interest in the topic, whereas a homogeneous group of younger children might not have maintained interest in the topic

given the discontinuities in scheduling.

Administrative support and flexibility in lesson plan requirements were evident in the two public school classrooms, while the teachers who shared the private preschool classroom, in essence, were the administration and consequently could provide each other with support and flexibility. Support and flexibility for the implementation of the Project Approach are key ingredients for successful implementation of the approach in a part-day, as well as a full-day, program.

It was apparent that the teachers of the three part-day programs value project work because of its propensity to produce products that could be used for authentic assessment purposes. In programs such as these, where teachers have more children to assess than they would likely have in a full-day program, this propensity proved very helpful. Prior training in authentic assessment practices probably contributed to their recognition of this aspect of the Project Approach.

The teachers who have shared their classrooms here all began this new approach to teaching together with classroom teaching partners and with colleagues. They made a commitment to support one another and to see their first project through. This team approach may also have contributed to their success. They were all quick to say that they struggled in their first projects, but they found, after completing one project, that implementing projects became easier. They felt that the effort required to learn the approach was well worth it.

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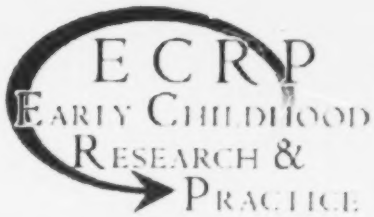

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Table 1

Preschool Attendance Patterns

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Gingerbread House Nursery School Teacher/Child Attendance, Planning, and Portfolio Collection Patterns					
AM	Group A Lead Teacher: Mary Teacher: Julie Assistant: Sheila Planner: Mary	Group B Lead Teacher: Mary Teacher: Jan Planner: Mary	Group A Lead Teacher: Julie Teacher: Mary Assistant: Sheila Planner: Julie	Group B Lead Teacher: Jan Mary Planner: Julie	Group A Lead Teacher: Jan Teacher: Julie Assistant: Mary Planner: Jan
PM	Group C Lead Teacher: Mary Teacher: Julie		Group C Lead Teacher: Julie Teacher: Mary Assistant: Sheila		Group C Lead Teacher: Jan Teacher: Julie Assistant: Carla Assistant: Lisa
Malden Early Childhood Special Education Teacher/Child Attendance Patterns					
AM	Group A Teacher: Kathy Assistant: Renee H.	Group A Teacher: Kathy Assistant: Renee H.	Group A Teacher: Kathy Assistant: Renee H.	Group A Teacher: Kathy Assistant: Renee H.	Preparation and Home Visits No child attendance
PM	Group B Teacher: Kathy Assistant: Renee H.	Group B Teacher: Kathy Assistant: Renee H.	Group B Teacher: Kathy Assistant: Renee H.	Group B Teacher: Kathy Assistant: Renee H.	Preparation and Home Visits No child attendance
Malden Prekindergarten At-Risk Teacher/Child Attendance Patterns					
AM	Teachers: Renee C. Assistant: Penny Class A	Teachers: Renee C. Assistant: Penny Class A	Teacher: Renee C. Assistant: Penny Class A	Teacher: Renee C. Assistant: Penny Class A	Preparation and Home Visits No child attendance
PM	Teacher: Renee C. Assistant: Penny Class B	Teacher: Renee C. Assistant: Penny Class B	Teacher: Renee C. Assistant: Penny Class B	Teacher: Renee C. Assistant: Penny Class B	Preparation and Home Visits No child attendance

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Volume 2, Number 1

Policy Issues in Early Care and Education: Recent Citations from the ERIC Database

ERIC Documents

ED430726 PS027678
Title: **Child Care: An Investment That Works for Colorado. A Child Care Data Report.**
Author(s): Clancy, Monica
Author Affiliation: Colorado Office of Resource and Referral Agencies, Inc., Englewood. (BBB34493)
Pages: 27
Publication Date: 1999
Sponsoring Agency: Colorado State Dept. of Human Services, Denver. Div. of Child Care. (BBB33690)
Available from: EDRS Price MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
Document Type: Numerical/Quantitative Data (110); Reports—Descriptive (141)
In the current competitive economy, with welfare reform underway and increasingly limited public resources, Colorado citizens deserve assurance that tax dollars are receiving a maximum return on investment for public expenditures for child care. This report examines the state of child care in Colorado. Part 1 presents information on 1998-1999 state appropriations for child care and other programs, discusses the importance of early intervention, delineates the benefits of high quality child care for children and parents, and profiles the state and selected counties with regard to child care supply, quality, affordability, and availability. This part also describes selected programs, included resource and referral services. Part 2 delineates the characteristics of quality child care, discusses tools for promoting quality, and describes model programs. Part 3 considers the affordability of child care, focusing on funding of services, the role of infrastructure, and the educare model. Part 4 discusses the accessibility of child care, describes the barriers to securing good care, and outlines how child care resource and referral provides and coordinates services and programs for children and families. Each of the four parts contains references. (KB)
Descriptors: Budgeting; *Budgets; *Children; *Day Care; Day Care Centers; Early Childhood Education; Models; Resource Allocation
Identifiers: Affordability; Availability (Programs and Services); Child Care Costs; Child Care Needs;

*Colorado; Day Care Quality; Educare

ED428862 PS027434
Title: **State Child Care and Early Education Developments: Highlights and Updates for 1998.**
Author(s): Blank, Helen; Poersch, Nicole Oxendine
Author Affiliation: Children's Defense Fund, Washington, DC. (BBB13369)
Pages: 66
Publication Date: February 1999
Sponsoring Agency: Ford Foundation, New York, NY. (QPX27000)@Annie E. Casey Foundation, Baltimore, MD. (BBB32721)@Mott (C.S.) Foundation, Flint, MI. (BBB04331)@A.L. Mailman Family Foundation, Inc. (BBB24207)
Available from: EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
Availability: Children's Defense Fund, 25 E Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20001; Tel: 202-628-8787; Fax: 202-662-3510; Web site: www.childrensdefense.org
Document Type: Reports—Descriptive (141)
One of a series of reports concerning state policies and practices in child care and early education, this report provides highlights and updates regarding state actions during 1998. The report is intended to serve as a supplement and companion to the more comprehensive information presented in "State Developments in Child Care and Early Education 1997." The information in this report was collected through written surveys and phone interviews with advocates in each state. The final draft was reviewed for verification by advocates and state child care administrators in each state. Following an introduction, the report provides information in the following areas: (1) state decisions regarding child care funding; (2) child care subsidy eligibility; (3) state subsidy payment rates; (4) parent subsidy co-payments; (5) child care tax credits; (6) quality and supply: general; (7) quality and supply: care for infants and toddlers; (8) quality and supply: school-age care: (9) quality and supply: odd-hour care: (10) licensing and regulatory changes; (11) Head Start and prekindergarten initiatives; (12) bringing communities together for children; (13) increasing business investment; and (14) changes in child care administration. (EV)
Descriptors: Administration; *Day Care; *Early Childhood Education; Financial Support; *State Action; State Programs; State Regulation; State Standards
Identifiers: Child Care Costs; *Day Care Quality; Day Care Regulation

ED423072 PS026926
Title: **Financing Services for Young Children and Their Families: New Directions for Research, Development, and Demonstration.**
Author(s): Miller, Jennifer
Author Affiliation: Finance Project, Washington, DC. (BBB33392)
Pages: 34
Publication Date: June 1998
Sponsoring Agency: Carnegie Corp. of New York, NY. (QPX12280)
Available from: EDRS Price MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
Availability: Finance Project, 1000 Vermont Avenue, NW, Suite 600, Washington, DC 20005; phone: 202-628-4200; fax: 202-628-4205 ($7.50).
Document Type: Reports—General (140)
In 1997, the Finance Project convened a roundtable meeting of representatives from organizations who have been working to improve the financing of services and supports to young children and their families; the meeting was convened with the purpose of mapping an agenda for future research, development, and demonstration to support improvements in early childhood financing. This paper organizes the meeting's recommendations into a coherent framework for a research and demonstration agenda. Three principles emerging from the meeting are highlighted: the need for community-based, family-focused, preventive, and comprehensive services; the importance of cultivating informal support systems and formalized services;

and the realization that financing strategies are a means to an end, inextricably linked to strategies for service delivery. The paper begins by outlining the major strategic directions for change that emerged from the roundtable discussion, including realigning financing strategies to adapt to changing social policy environment, making better use of fiscal resources, developing the infrastructure to support improved financing, and building public will, leadership, and resources to support change. Section 2 discusses how these strategic directions translate into a research, demonstration, and tool-building agenda, with proposed activities in three major categories: (1) research, including theory building, policy research, and evaluation; (2) demonstration projects, especially how a wide range of financing strategies can achieve better results for children and families; and (3) tool-building, involving further developing and making accessible to states and communities a wide variety of models and tools, such as results-based budgeting, resource mapping, and the use of data to inform decision making. (KB)

Descriptors: Administration; Budgeting; Change Strategies; Community Services; Day Care; Early Childhood Education; Early Intervention; *Educational Finance; *Family Programs; Financial Policy; *Financial Support; Models; Preschool Education; Privatization; Public Policy; Research Needs; Research Problems; Social Services; *Young Children

Identifiers: Alternative Financing; *Family Support; Financing Options

ED425834 PS027139

Title: **Change Agent for a Changing World. NAEYC Annual Report, October 1, 1997-September 30, 1998.**

Author Affiliation: National Association for the Education of Young Children, Washington, DC. (FGK56164)

Pages: 15

Publication Date: November 1998

Available from: EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.

Availability: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1509 16th Street N.W., Washington, DC 20036-1426; Tel: 800-424-2460 (Toll Free); Tel: 202-232-8777; Web site: www.naeyc.org

Document Type: Reports—Descriptive (141)

This annual report of the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) is organized around the organization's three goals: (1) improving professional practice by promoting standards of excellence among and providing information and resources to early childhood professionals; (2) improving understanding and support for high quality early childhood programs among parents and the general public, as well as policy makers and the media; and (3) building and maintaining a strong, inclusive organization. In addressing the first goal, the report describes the following contributions to the development of young children: (1) the first videoconference entitled, "The Leading Edge"; (2) new position statement entitled "Learning to Read and Write"; (3) enhancements to NAEYC's accreditation system; (4) improvement in information exchange and idea testing; and (5) taking and promoting positions. In addressing the second goal, the report describes the following contributions: (1) new public policy activities; and (2) new public awareness activities. In addressing the third goal, the report describes the Summit II conference, held to explore structural changes necessary to meet the needs of the membership. The report concludes with a brief financial summary for the year. (SD)

Descriptors: *Change Agents; *Change Strategies; Child Advocacy; Early Childhood Education; Educational Change; Organizational Change; Organizational Development; *Organizational Effectiveness; *Organizational Objectives; *Organizations (Groups); Planning; *Self Evaluation (Groups)

Identifiers: *National Association Educ of Young Children

ED418775 PS026270

Title: **The State of Early Childhood Programs in America: Challenges for the New Millennium.**

Author(s): Day, Barbara; Yarbrough, Tracie

Pages: 18
Publication Date: February 1998
Notes: Paper presented at the Forum on Early Childhood, Science, Mathematics, and Technology Education (Washington, DC, February 6-8, 1998).
Available from: EDRS Price MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
Document Type: Reports—Evaluative (142)
When compared to other industrialized countries, America ranks first in many areas, including military technology and Gross Domestic Product. However, in areas related to child welfare, America does not rate so high. American youngsters are frequently placed in physical danger and many begin school ill-prepared to learn. In March 1997, the Children's Defense Fund released 20 key facts about American children which illustrate the severe problems facing the youth of America. These facts are addressed in this report in terms of how to combat the problems. The first section of the report addresses the need for early childhood education. This section argues that large investments in education must be made at the early childhood level, noting that this investment has the potential not only to properly prepare children educationally, but to address social problems such as violence and delinquency; promote good health; develop children's social, physical, emotional, and psychological development; strengthen families; and provide a safe and caring environment. The report's second section addresses barriers to high-quality experiences, including poverty, participation rates, and quality of care. The third section addresses challenges for the future, including: providing a caring environment for children; addressing standards of quality; providing developmentally appropriate practice and learning environments; safe environments; engaging children; and an integrated curriculum. Contains 22 references. (SD)
Descriptors: *Child Advocacy; *Child Development; Child Health; *Child Welfare; *Childhood Needs; *Early Childhood Education; Educational Development; Educational Improvement; *Educational Quality; Government Role; Poverty; Well Being; Youth Problems
Identifiers: Childrens Defense Fund; Developmentally Appropriate Programs; *United States

ED430716 PS027668
Title: **Caring for Our Children: Our Most Precious Investment.**
Author Affiliation: Little Hoover Commission, Sacramento, CA. (BBB33649)
Pages: 116
Publication Date: September 1998
Available from: EDRS Price MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
Availability: Little Hoover Commission, 925 L Street, Suite 805, Sacramento, CA 95814; Tel: 916-445-2125; Fax: 916-322-7709; Web site: www.lhc.ca.gov; e-mail: little.hoover@lhc.ca.gov ($5).
Document Type: Reports—Evaluative (142)
Child care has become a central issue to most Californians and is increasingly important to policymakers. The Little Hoover Commission examined child care in California, focusing on the long-standing competition between the quantity of services available and the quality of services provided. Information was obtained from an advisory committee of over 100 child care experts, from witnesses at two public hearings, numerous studies on child care issues, material gathered from think tanks, and interviews of child care experts. Four major conclusions and recommendations were drawn from the data. First, California lacks and needs an effective strategy to supply the high-quality child care that working families need. The state should adopt a child care master plan to guide its efforts to help families and communities meet child care needs. Second, shortages of licensed child care extend statewide and are especially severe in low-income, rural, and minority communities. The state should set a goal of expanding child care capacity so all Californians have access to services. Third, the subsidized child care system serves a fraction of eligible families and services are not well-matched to community needs. There should be sufficient funding for subsidized child care and the system should be fundamentally reformed. Fourth, state policies and other factors subvert the goal of assuring all children high-quality care and early education opportunities. The state should undertake a broad-based effort to improve the quality of child care and expand early education

opportunities. (Two appendices list advisory committee members and public hearing witnesses. Contains approximately 50 references.) (KB)

Descriptors: *Child Welfare; *Children; *Day Care; Early Childhood Education; Government Role; Legislation; *Public Policy; State Action; State Government; State Programs

Identifiers: Affordability; Availability (Programs and Services); California; Child Care Costs; *Child Care Legislation; *Child Care Needs; Day Care Quality; Day Care Regulations

ED423956 PS026589

Title: **Investing in Child Care: Challenges Facing Working Parents and the Private Sector Response**.

Author Affiliation: Department of the Treasury, Washington, DC. (BBB04222)

Pages: 63

Publication Date: 1998

Available from: EDRS Price MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.

Document Type: Reports—Descriptive (141)

This report of a group of business and labor leaders convened at the White House Conference on Child Care in October 1997 identifies and provides examples of a variety of ways that businesses can promote access to child care for their employees. The report begins with a letter from Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin. Following an introduction describing the challenges facing working parents, Section 1 discusses the concerns of working parents, including the financial burdens presented by child care and those related to the quality of child care. Section 2 deals with the economic impact of child care, including its impact on employee productivity, labor force participation trends, and child care costs. Section 3 presents the results of a survey of businesses and examples of best practices, including resource and referral programs, public-private partnerships, corporate and labor management partnerships, on- and off-site child care, sick child care, and out-of-school care. Findings of the survey indicate that child care resource and referral is a very popular benefit, and that flexible work schedules are provided by a substantial number of employers. Section 4 presents recommendations for businesses in enhancing their employee's access to child care. The report concludes that investments in child care can pay off in real dividends for employers and employees. Appendices include contact information for child care support organizations and state resources and referral networks. (Contains 28 references.) (KB)

Descriptors: *Day Care; Early Childhood Education; *Employed Parents; *Employer Supported Day Care; Family Work Relationship; Fringe Benefits; Parent Attitudes

Identifiers: Availability (Programs and Services); Child Care Costs; Day Care Quality; White House Conference on Child Care

ED417807 PS026359

Title: **Building Blocks: A Legislator's Guide to Child Care Policy.**

Author(s): Culkin, Mary L.; Groginsky, Scott; Christian, Steve

Author Affiliation: National Conference of State Legislatures, Denver, CO. (BBB24481)

Pages: 106

Publication Date: December 1997

Sponsoring Agency: Pew Charitable Trusts, Philadelphia, PA. (BBB28123)@A.L. Mailman Family Foundation, Inc. (BBB24207)

ISBN: 1-55516-757-8

Available from: EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.

Availability: National Conference of State Legislatures, 1560 Broadway, Suite 700, Denver, CO 80202 (Item No. 6140, $30).

Document Type: Guides—Non-classroom (055); Reports—Evaluative (142)

The care and education of the youngest children in the United States has become a critical public policy issue affecting millions of families. This guide closely examines the issues and tradeoffs in key child care

policy decisions that face state legislators. The guide provides a discussion of state efforts to build supply, improve quality, and develop effective subsidy systems for low-income families. By presenting research findings and policy options about supply, quality, and funding for low-income child care, as well as demographic trends, this guide offers a context within which state lawmakers can plan for successful, lasting effects on current and future generations. Following an executive summary and introduction, the guide's chapters are: (1) "Expanding the Supply of Child Care," through facilities development, public/private partnerships, loans and grants, resource and referral services, and expanding out-of-school time activities; (2) "Improving the Quality of Child Care," through regulations, accreditation and additional standards, training, career development and compensation, and quality early childhood education initiatives; (3) "Funding Low-Income Child Care," including eligibility issues, parent fees, and reimbursement rates and policies; (4) "State Experiences," in California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Minnesota, North Carolina, Ohio, and Oregon. A brief conclusion notes that recent changes in federal funding offer state lawmakers an opportunity to establish coordinated early childhood systems that help families of all income levels maintain employment and receive family support services. The guide contains a resource list and 56 references. (EV)

Descriptors: Child Care Occupations; *Day Care; *Early Childhood Education; Financial Support; Policy Analysis; *Policy Formation; State Aid; State Government; *State Programs

Identifiers: Child Care Costs; Child Care Legislation; *Child Care Needs; *Day Care Quality

ED426760 PS026963

Title: **Strategies To Improve Quality in Subsidized Child Care. CCAC Issue Brief #8.**

Author Affiliation: Child Care Action Campaign, New York, NY. (BBB23454)

Source: Child Care Action Campaign Issue Brief, n8 Dec 1997 Pages: 9

Publication Date: December 1997

Available from: EDRS Price MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.

Availability: Child Care Action Campaign, 330 Seventh Avenue, 17th Floor, New York, NY 10001; Tel: 212-239-0138; Fax: 212-268-6515 ($3 prepaid).

Document Type: Collected works—Serials (022)

Recent state efforts reflect a growing commitment to building state child care systems, but increasing child care capacity while simultaneously designing and expanding good quality, new child care systems remains a challenge. On November 17, 1997, the Child Care Action Campaign (CCAC) conducted an audioconference that focused on how Wisconsin, North Carolina, and New Jersey are using federal and state funds and private funding to improve the quality of subsidized child care in both formal and informal settings. The presenters were David Edie, director of the Wisconsin Office of Child Care; Sue Russell, executive direction of Day Care Services Association and the TEACH Early Childhood Project; and Edna Ranck, child care coordinator and the New Jersey Department of Human Services. This issue brief summarizes information from the conference presentations, which addressed the following questions: (1) "How does your state define quality and what methods are being used to improve it?"; and (2) "Which of your successful strategies should other states consider?" (EV)

Descriptors: *Day Care; Grants; Program Descriptions; *State Federal Aid; *State Programs

Identifiers: Child Care Costs; Child Care Needs; Day Care Quality; New Jersey; North Carolina; *Subsidized Child Care Services; Wisconsin

ED418772 PS026212

Title: **State Developments in Child Care and Early Education, 1997.**

Author(s): Blank, Helen; Adams, Gina

Author Affiliation: Children's Defense Fund, Washington, DC. (BBB13369)

Pages: 83

Publication Date: December 1997

Available from: EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.

Availability: Children's Defense Fund, 25 E Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20001; telephone: 202-628-8787 ($5.95).

Document Type: Reports—Evaluative (142)

Access to quality child care is critical to working parents. Prior to the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, states had a significant level of responsibility for child care, and the 1996 welfare reform law further expanded the state's role. This report examines state efforts in child care and early education in 1997 in light of these changes. The major state developments in 1997 are divided into several categories, including: changes in child care funding, reductions in guarantees of child care assistance, changes in child care subsidy policies, developments in quality investments, licensing activities, school-age care, and state prekindergarten initiatives. Following a brief summary, section one of the report addresses state decisions regarding child care funding, including increasing state funding and returning federal funds. Section two addresses child care assistance, including assistance to families below certain income levels, while section three addresses changes in child care subsidy policies, including state reimbursement rates and eligibility issues. Section four addresses actions related to quality and supply, including licensing, regulatory changes, and protection of children. Section five addresses changes in child care administration and efforts to create unified policies. Section six addresses Head Start and prekindergarten initiatives. The final section of the report addresses additional new ideas and developments in early education and child care initiatives. (SD)

Descriptors: Child Advocacy; Child Welfare; Childhood Needs; *Day Care; *Day Care Centers; Day Care Effects; Early Childhood Education; Educational Quality; Federal Aid; Federal Legislation; *State Aid; State Federal Aid; State Government; *State Programs; Welfare Services

Identifiers: Child Care Costs; Child Care Legislation; *Child Care Needs; Day Care Licensing; *Day Care Quality; Personal Responsibility and Work Opp Recon Act; Project Head Start; Welfare Reform

ED417027 PS026337

Title: **Not by Chance: Creating an Early Care and Education System for America's Children. Abridged Report. The Quality 2000 Initiative.**

Author(s): Kagan, Sharon L.; Cohen, Nancy E.

Author Affiliation: Yale Univ., New Haven, CT. Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy. (BBB17139)

Pages: 83

Publication Date: 1997

Available from: EDRS Price MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.

Availability: Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy at Yale University, 310 Prospect Street, New Haven, CT 06511.

Document Type: Opinion papers (120); Reports—Descriptive (141)

This report of the Quality 2000 Initiative documents the quality crisis in early care and education in the United States, discussing the reasons for this crisis and suggesting a plan for improvement. Part 1 of the report: describes the mediocre quality of care cited in the Cost, Quality, and Child Outcomes Study, the erosion of quality since 1980, and problems in staff training and educational levels; details the roots of the quality crisis; and maintains that the knowledge and political will to develop an effective early care and education system are in place. Part 2 discusses eight recommendations for developing this system: (1) use a wide range of approaches to achieve quality; (2) focus on goals and results for children; (3) place parents and families at the core of early care and education programs; (4) require staff to be licensed; (5) expand the content of training and education; (6) eliminate exemptions and streamline and enforce facility licensing; (7) raise new funds and set aside ten percent for quality and infrastructure; and (8) create local and state early care and education boards. Part 3 of the report, "Realizing the Vision," examines a range of existing initiatives or programs that can be built upon. This part also identifies three key strategies—conceptual exploration, comprehensive demonstration, and broad-based mobilization—and concludes with a call to action, suggesting who should do what to carry out the vision. The report's four

appendices list task force and related meeting participants, consultant-partners, and commissioned working papers. Each part contains references. (Author/KB)

Descriptors: *Change Agents; *Change Strategies; Child Caregivers; *Day Care; *Day Care Effects; Early Childhood Education; Infant Care; Infants; Parent Participation; Public Policy; Young Children

Identifiers: Caregiver Qualifications; Caregiver Training; Day Care Licensing; *Day Care Quality; Day Care Registration; Day Care Regulations; Quality 2000 Initiative

ED409121 PS025643

Title: **Reinventing Early Care and Education: A Vision for a Quality System.**

Author(s): Kagan, Sharon L., Ed.; Cohen, Nancy E., Ed.

Pages: 365

Publication Date: 1996

ISBN: 0-7879-0319-1

Available from: Document Not Available from EDRS.

Availability: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, 350 Sansome Street, Seventh Floor, San Francisco, CA 94104-1342; phone: 800-956-7739; fax: 800-605-2665 ($39.95, plus shipping).

Document Type: Book (010); Collected works—General (020)

Although early care and education have gained some momentum in recent years, shortfalls in quality are still pervasive. This book defines the elements of a high-quality system and suggests strategies for improvement. Frontmatter includes a preface, editors' and contributors' biographies, and an introduction entitled "The Changing Context of American Early Care and Education" (Sharon L. Kagan and others). The first part of the book, "Quality Programs: The Case for an Expanded Definition," contains four chapters: (1) "Parents' Perspectives on Quality in Early Care and Education" (Mary Larner); (2) "Reframing the Quality Issue" (Deborah Phillips); (3) "International Approaches to Defining Quality" (Jennifer Bush and Deborah Phillips); and (4) "Multicultural Perspectives on Quality" (Nancy E. Cohen and Delia Pompa). The second part, "The Infrastructure: The Case for a Quality System," contains six chapters: (1) "Licensing: Lessons from Other Occupations" (Anne Mitchell); (2) "Training and Professional Development: International Approaches" (Eliza Pritchard); (3) "Regulation: Alternative Approaches from Other Fields" (Katherine L. Scurria); (4) "Governance: Child Care, Federalism, and Public Policy" (William T. Gormley, Jr.); (5) "Funding and Financing: Moving toward a More Universal System" (Martin H. Gerry); and (6) "Quality Infrastructure for Family Child Care" (Shelby M. Miller). The third part, "Implementing Change," contains five chapters: (1) "Media and Mass Communications Strategies" (Kathy Bonk and Meredith Wiley); (2) "Citizen Participation: Transforming Access into Influence" (Christopher Howard); (3) "Organizing Communities and Constituents for Change" (Ernesto Cortes, Jr.); (4) "Understanding the Complexities of Educational Change" (Ann Lieberman and others); and (5) "The Synchrony of Stakeholders: Lessons from the Disabilities Rights Movement" (H. Rutherford Turnbull and Ann P. Turnbull). The fourth part, "Creating a Quality Early Care and Education System," contains two chapters: (1) "A Vision for a Quality Early Care and Education System" (Sharon L. Kagan and Nancy E. Cohen); and (2) "Getting from Here to There: The Process and the Players" (Nancy E. Cohen and Sharon L. Kagan). Each chapter contains references. (LPP)

Descriptors: Certification; *Change Strategies; Citizen Participation; Community Action; *Day Care; *Early Childhood Education; *Educational Change; *Educational Improvement; *Educational Quality; Family Day Care; Finance Reform; Financial Support; Governance; Government Role; Parent Attitudes; Professional Development; Professional Training; Public Policy

Identifiers: Day Care Quality; *Quality of Care

ED416989 PS026261

Title: **Access to Quality Early Childhood Care and Education. Background Paper for the Quality Child Care Think Tank.** Draft.

Author(s): Brandon, Richard N.; Smith, Diana

Author Affiliation: Washington Univ., Seattle. Human Services Policy Center. (BBB34378)
Pages: 50
Publication Date: July 1996
Available from: EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
Document Type: Reports—General (140)

This background paper discusses the current system of child care finance in Washington State and analyzes options for improvement. It describes prominent characteristics of the early childhood care and education system, findings relating program quality to staff/child ratios and staff educational levels, characteristics of quality, parent preferences about care, needs for quality care, and the current financing system. A model of financing is presented involving individual employee benefit accounts for early childhood care and education. These accounts would have a 50/50 employer match which can be saved and invested, and drawn down as needed. The government would provide tax incentives to employees and employers to create a backup pool for non-covered employees and to invest in teacher training. Preliminary cost estimates for parents, government, community, and employers are discussed. The report also examines the increased costs of moving to a high quality child care and education system. Mechanisms to directly link funding to quality through a combination of regulation and incentives are examined. The report's appendix compares early childhood care and education in the United States and other countries, delineates different ways to finance early childhood education, and illustrates the use of sliding fee scales. An annotated list of national and state resources in child care, early education, and work/family relationship concludes the report. (KB)

Descriptors: *Day Care; *Early Childhood Education; *Educational Finance; Educational Quality; *Financial Support; Government Role; Parent Financial Contribution; Parent Role

Identifiers: Access to Services; Availability (Programs and Services); Business Role; Day Care Quality; Quality of Care

ED411038 PS025180

Title: **Community Mobilization: Strategies To Support Young Children and Their Families.**

Author(s): Dombro, Amy Laura; O'Donnell, Nina Sazer; Galinsky, Ellen; Melchar, Sarah Gilkeson; Farber, Abby

Author Affiliation: Families and Work Inst., New York, NY. (BBB29132)
Pages: 407
Publication Date: 1996
ISBN: 1-888324-03-1
Available from: EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.

Availability: Families and Work Institute, Attn: Publications Order, 320 Seventh Avenue, 14th Floor, New York, NY 10001; phone: 212-465-2044; fax: 212-465-8637; world wide web: www.familiesandwork.org ($25, plus $3.50 shipping).

Document Type: Guides—Non-classroom (055)

Noting the increasing need for public officials, practitioners, business leaders, concerned citizens, and parents to work together to improve the quality of life for young children and families, this book for community organizations provides information needed to begin or enhance local or statewide community mobilization efforts. Included are descriptions of initiatives based on information gathered through interviews with staff conducted over a 3-year period. The book begins with a definition of community mobilization, its principles, and the origins and stages of community mobilization efforts. The remaining sections detail the three stages of community mobilization, using a question-answer format, and including information from specific initiatives to illustrate particular points. Section 1, "Creating a Vision: Promising Practices," contains chapters on getting started, assessing needs, mobilizing the voice of parents, and involving businesses. Section 2, "Implementing the Vision: Creating Quality Services for Young Children and Their Families," includes chapters on reforming communities to serve families of young children through coordinating services, systemic planning and reform, and institutionalizing integrated services.

Also included in this section are chapters on improving and assuring the quality of services through promoting professional development of the early education and care practitioner, involving parents, improving state regulations, promoting accreditation of early childhood practitioners, and improving the compensation of the child care workforce. Section 3, "Sustaining the Vision: Assuring Lasting Change," addresses maintaining momentum, developing financing mechanisms, engaging the public, and assessing results. Each chapter contains references. Two appendices detail state initiatives and describe national organizations. (Author/KB)

Descriptors: Change Agents; *Community Action; Community Attitudes; *Community Cooperation; Community Coordination; Community Involvement; Community Leaders; *Community Programs; Community Support; Compensation (Remuneration); Credentials; Day Care; Early Childhood Education; Financial Support; *Integrated Services; Needs Assessment; Parent Participation; Professional Development; Public Agencies; School Community Relationship; Social Services; State Regulation; *Young Children

Identifiers: Business Community Relationship; Parent Community Relationship; Public Awareness

ED397538 EA027934

Title: **Early Childhood Reform in Seven Communities: Front-Line Practice, Agency Management, and Public Policy. {Volume I: Final Technical Report.} Studies of Education Reform.**

Author(s): Schultz, Tom; And Others

Author Affiliation: National Association of State Boards of Education, Alexandria, VA. (BBB21902); Harvard Family Research Project, Cambridge, MA. (BBB26569)

Pages: 126

Publication Date: October 1996

Notes: For Volumes I-III of this particular study, see EA 027 934-936. For all 12 final reports (36 volumes) in this series of studies, see EA 027 926-961.

Sponsoring Agency: Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC. (EDD00036)

Contract No: RR91172007

Report No: ORAD-96-1320

ISBN: 0-16-048871-0

Available from: EDRS Price MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.

Availability: U.S. Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, Mail Stop: SSOP, Washington, DC 20402-9328.

Document Type: Reports—Research (143)

An era of substantial growth in investment of resources, program development, and research has led to tangible gains in the scope and quality of early childhood education programs. However, the system of early childhood education programs is plagued by unequal access and inconsistent, inadequate levels of quality. Additionally, the focus of federal policy debate has shifted from improving specific programs to more global and ideological concerns of federalism and fiscal policy. This study was designed to provide information about the effects of current government policy and funding efforts on the shape and quality of local early childhood agencies. The study analyzed and documented significant local examples of innovative and successful reforms in early childhood services. The document, the first of three in a series, contains an analysis of past research and recent policy trends and presents seven case studies of local early childhood initiatives (including Head Start grantees, local school districts, and child-care agencies). All projects serve children from birth to 5 years of age from families of low to moderate incomes. The programs involve sponsorship by one or more state or federal programs and include a significant component of outreach, involvement, and service to parents and other family members. The report highlights strategies to promote child development, strategies to serve and involve families, management strategies, and policy effects in local agencies. Nine policy recommendations are offered, some of which include: (1) coordinate expansion of federal and state public investment to equalize access to quality early

childhood programs; (2) support funding rates that are consistent with program and work-force quality; (3) encourage local and private-sector investment in early childhood services; (4) set program standards that are also flexible for meeting local needs; (5) support local agencies; (6) build a supportive infrastructure and management-development system to support program quality and innovation; (7) create leadership/management development system; (8) ease administrative burdens in administering multiple public early childhood programs; and (9) build community planning and responsibility for each childhood service. To improve practice, the report recommends that program administrators refine and promote teaching excellence within the paradigm of developmentally appropriate practice; continue to foster staff development; promote continuity with elementary schools and successful transitions; encourage adult family members' participation; help staff members negotiate the boundaries between their work and family issues; and define and implement high-quality front-line practices. Three tables are included. (Contains 153 references.) (LMI)

Descriptors: *Early Childhood Education; *Early Intervention; *Educational Cooperation; Educational Finance; Family School Relationship; Federal Programs; Program Administration; Program Effectiveness; *Public Policy; Social Services; Young Children

Identifiers: *Studies of Education Reform (OERI)

ED394659 PS024023

Title: **Everybody's Children: Child Care as a Public Problem.**

Author(s): Gormley, William T., Jr.

Author Affiliation: Brookings Institution, Washington, DC. (BBB01336)

Pages: 243

Publication Date: 1995

ISBN: 0-8157-3223-6

Available from: Document Not Available from EDRS.

Availability: The Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036 (paperback: ISBN-0-8157-3223-6, $16.95; hardcover: ISBN-0-8157-3224-4).

Document Type: Book (010); Reports—Evaluative (142)

In the face of social changes that are increasing the demand for available, affordable, quality child care, it is difficult to continue to think of child care as a purely private issue. This book presents an analysis of the state of American child care. It evaluates child care policies and the national attention given to young children and their families. There are seven chapters in this book. Chapter 1, "Private Headaches, Public Dilemmas," sets forth the position that child care has not yet secured a firm niche on the public agenda, and emphasizes the reasons why the government has special responsibilities to care for poor children who need high-quality child care. This chapter also discusses the research methodology used for the research reported in the book. Chapter 2, "Child Care as a Social Problem," describes recent changes in the child care market from work, family, parental, and societal perspectives. Chapter 3, "Child Care as an Institutional Problem," considers both the formal and informal institutions that together comprise the child care infrastructure. This chapter also introduces several procedural criteria that may be used to evaluate the current system. Chapter 4, "Markets and Black Markets," focuses on the quality of care in two settings: for-profit group day care centers and unregulated family day care homes. Chapter 5, "Do's, Don'ts, and Dollars," subjects government to the same scrutiny that the child care industry received in Chapter 4. This chapter focuses on regulatory reform, categorical grants, and block grants. Chapter 6, "Do-Gooders, Go-Getters, and Go-Betweens," claims that intermediary institutions—schools, churches, businesses, and resource and referral agencies—should be encouraged to provide, subsidize, further develop, and improve child care. Chapter 7, "Reinventing Child Care," discusses four kinds of child care reform models and concludes that with the right incentives, coordination, and discretion, a better world for children can be achieved. Contains an index and a list of references for each chapter. (MOK)

Descriptors: Business Responsibility; Change Strategies; Child Rearing; Church Role; *Day Care; Day Care Centers; Early Childhood Education; Evaluation Criteria; *Evaluative Thinking; Family Day Care;

*Government Role; Parent Role; School Role; Social Change; *Social Problems; *Standards
Identifiers: Analytic Approach; *Child Care Needs; *Day Care Quality; Family Resource and Support Programs; Infrastructure

ED413978 PS024779
Title: **Meeting Family and Community Needs: The Three C's of Early Childhood Education.**
Author(s): Kagan, Sharon L.
Pages: 17
Publication Date: December 1995
Notes: Paper presented at the Australia and New Zealand Conference on the First Years of School (6th, Hobart, Tasmania, Australia, January 1996).
Available from: EDRS Price MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
Document Type: Opinion papers (120); Speeches/meeting papers (150)
The efforts of those interested in the advancement of early childhood education have been focused mainly on pedagogical issues. Today, given the increasing complexities of life, it is an intellectual and functional imperative to take a contextual/developmental approach to early childhood education. This approach addresses two parameters of children's lives: their families and the communities. Part of this approach is to identify the following critical issues: (1) acknowledging the critical social trends that affect children and their families; (2) meeting the needs of diverse populations and communities; (3) discerning what families want and what communities provide; (4) establishing priorities between services to children and services to families; (5) understanding and addressing the lack of continuity and coherence; (6) deciding to focus on direct services or on the infrastructure; and (7) redressing the limited understanding of and constituency of early childhood education. The other part of the contextual approach is to address change, continuity, and collaboration. Through analytic investigation, educators need to examine not only demographic changes, but also technological, data, and political changes that influence children, their families, and communities. Strategic planning for change will produce the contextual changes that are needed for the support of children and their families. In order to have more durable and systematic changes, the creation of opportunities for continuity among communities—based on the knowledge acquired in the fields in the past—is necessary. Finally, it is important to have collaboration not only within the field but also outside the field. Such an outside collaboration may involve families, communities, and social, economic, and political leaders. (Contains 41 references.) (AS)
Descriptors: *Change Strategies; *Community; Community Influence; Community Services; Context Effect; Cooperation; *Early Childhood Education; Family Needs; Family (Sociological Unit); *Social Change
Identifiers: Continuity; Socioeconomic Diversity

ED412023 PS025900
Title: **Promoting High-Quality Family Child Care: A Policy Perspective for Quality 2000.**
Author(s): Modigliani, Kathy
Author Affiliation: Wheelock Coll., Boston, MA. (MGG96638)
Pages: 52
Publication Date: January 1994
Notes: This publication was originally published as a Working Paper by Quality 2000, Advancing Early Care and Education Directed by Sharon Lynn Kagan at Yale University.
Available from: EDRS Price MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
Availability: Family Child Care Project, Wheelock College, 200 The Riverway, Boston, MA 02215 ($7).
Document Type: Information Analysis (070); Reports—General (140)
Although family child care has the potential to offer young children individual attention and customized, educational programs to help them thrive, the quality of these programs is dependent upon a workforce that is at the bottom of the occupational status and pay hierarchy. This report examines ways to promote high

quality in family child care programs. Part 1, "Family Child Care Today," considers the demographics of family child care, its strengths and liabilities, and the role of education. Part 2, "Strategies for Supporting Quality in Family Child Care," examines characteristics of appropriate training and incentives for training family child care providers; ways to ensure small group size and low adult-child ratio; family child care regulations; methods of ensuring continuing professional development among providers; and infrastructure support such as provider associations, resource and referral agencies, and food programs. Part 3, "Barriers That Inhibit Quality in Family Child Care," addresses low compensation, low social status and cultural devaluation, low job retention of providers, family child care costs, inadequate financing, and the absence of a national alliance for early care and education. Part 4, "A Vision of Support for the Quality of Family Child Care," examines the coordination of effort at the national and community level necessary to secure comprehensive support for the quality of family child care, including a major shift in public opinion, federal legislation, foundation and corporation funding, community provider support, parent support, and improvement of compensation for providers. (Contains 92 references.) (Author/KB)

Descriptors: *Children; Compensation (Remuneration); Early Childhood Education; *Family Day Care; Government Role; Lunch Programs; Organizations (Groups); Policy Analysis; Professional Development; Program Implementation

Identifiers: Child Care Costs; Child Care Legislation; Child Care Needs; Child Care Resource Centers; *Day Care Quality; Day Care Regulations; Resource and Referral Service

Journal Articles

EJ586497 PS529254

Title: **From Our President. Painting a New "Think": An Early Care and Education System?**

Author(s): Kagan, Sharon L.

Source: *Young Children,* v54 n3 p2 May 1999

Publication Date: 1999

ISSN: 0044-0728

Document Type: Journal articles (080); Opinion papers (120)

Visualizes future of early childhood education and care in terms of quality. Advocates quality in things that scaffold programs: quality training, education, and credentialing for staff; efficient, quality regulations that truly protect children and families; quality financing; effective accountability; and functional governance. Contends quality in programs can not be achieved without this scaffolding or infrastructure. (AMC)

Descriptors: Child Advocacy; Early Childhood Education; Educational Finance; *Educational Improvement; *Educational Policy; *Educational Quality; Teacher Education Programs

Identifiers: Day Care Quality; *Infrastructure; *Quality Indicators; Quality of Care

EJ578094 PS528750

Title: **Policy Options for Early Childhood: A Model for Decision Making.**

Author(s): Gallagher, James; Rooney, Robin

Source: *Early Education and Development,* v10 n1 p69-82 Jan 1999

Publication Date: 1999

Notes: Special Issue on: "Unresolved Issues in Early Childhood Programming."

ISSN: 1040-9289

Notes a need for policies to provide comprehensive health, social work, and early-education services for young children and their families. Presents a decision-making matrix, which displays major policy options for early childhood and a range of criteria by which to judge the relative efficacy of those options.

(Author/LPP)
Descriptors: *Childhood Needs; Day Care; Decision Making; Federal Aid; Government Role; *Public Policy; Young Children
Identifiers: Day Care Quality; Government Subsidies

EJ584469 PS529220
Title: **Lighting the Path: Developing Leadership in Early Education.**
Author(s): Taba, Sharon; And Others
Source: *Early Childhood Education Journal,* v26 n3 p173-77 Spr 1999
Publication Date: 1999
ISSN: 1082-3301
Document Type: Journal articles (080); Opinion papers (120); Reports—Descriptive (141)
Discusses the urgent need to develop leadership in early childhood education in order to improve the quality of programming for infants, toddlers, young children, and their families. Describes five areas of leadership skills: advocacy, administrative, community, conceptual, and career development. (KB)
Descriptors: *Child Advocacy; Early Childhood Education; Educational Quality; Empowerment; Infants; *Leadership; *Leadership Qualities; *Preschool Teachers; Professional Development; School Community Relationship
Identifiers: *Educational Leadership

EJ584405 PS529029
Title: **Going Beyond "Z". From Our President.**
Author(s): Kagan, Sharon L.
Source: *Young Children,* v54 n2 p2 Mar 1999
Publication Date: 1999
ISSN: 0044-0728
Document Type: Journal articles (080); Opinion papers (120)
Explores an anecdote about a parent withdrawing her child from a child care program as a metaphor for the current status of early childhood to illustrate the pedagogical, practice, and policy dilemmas challenging the field. Maintains that pedagogy, practice, and policy are inseparable and that early childhood professionals must be cognizant of their multiple roles. (Author/KB)
Descriptors: Caregiver Role; *Child Caregivers; Early Childhood Education; Educational Policy; Educational Quality; *Preschool Teachers; Professional Development; *Teacher Role; Young Children
Identifiers: Day Care Quality

EJ554335 PS527063
Title: **Another Growth Year for Employer Child Care.**
Author(s): Neugebauer, Roger
Source: *Child Care Information Exchange,* n117 p13-16 Sep-Oct 1997
Publication Date: 1997
ISSN: 0164-8527
Document Type: Journal articles (080); Reports—General (140)
This eighth annual status report analyzes work-site child care trends. Trends indicate demand for employer child care continues to increase, is spreading to a broader array of companies, and companies are exploring more options. The report also details recent legislation—the Child Care Infrastructure Act—and corporate child care gains. (SD)
Descriptors: Child Caregivers; Child Rearing; Corporate Support; *Corporations; *Day Care Centers; Early Childhood Education; *Employer Supported Day Care
Identifiers: *Child Care Legislation; *Child Care Needs

EJ551003 PS526984

Title: **Highlights of the Quality 2000 Initiative: Not By Chance. Public Policy Report.**

Author(s): Kagan, Sharon L.; Neuman, Michelle J.

Source: *Young Children,* v52 n6 p54-62 Sep 1997
Publication Date: 1997
ISSN: 0044-0728
Document Type: Information Analysis (070); Journal articles (080); Reports—Descriptive (141)

Describes the Quality 2000 Advancing Early Care and Education Initiative whose purpose is to address the quality crisis in early childhood education. Details eight areas of improvement and recommendations: (1) quality; (2) results; (3) family engagement; (4) staff credentialing; (5) staff training; (6) licensing; (7) funding; and (8) governance structures. (SD)

Descriptors: Change Strategies; *Early Childhood Education; Educational Change; *Educational Improvement; Educational Needs; Educational Objectives; *Educational Quality; *Excellence in Education; Financial Support; Instructional Effectiveness; Outcomes of Education; Parent Participation; Program Effectiveness; Quality Control; School Restructuring; Standards; Teacher Education; Teacher Effectiveness; Teacher Qualifications; Teaching Skills
Identifiers: Day Care Quality; *Quality 2000; *Quality Indicators

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New at ERIC/EECE

Symposium in Honor of Lilian Katz

This symposium, which is being held this upcoming November in honor of Dr. Lilian Katz's retirement from her teaching career at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, was announced in the previous issue of *ECRP*. Since then, there have been several additions to the Web site for the symposium:

http://ericeece.org/katzsymposium/

The Web site contains a call for papers, a paper proposal form, general information about the symposium, a tentative agenda, registration forms, and a form through which you can request to be put on an electronic mailing list of news announcements related to the symposium. The registration form can be printed out and sent in with payment. Sometime in May, an online registration form will be added through which individuals can register for the symposium with a credit card payment.

The symposium will be held on Sunday, November 5, through Tuesday, November 7, 2000—just before the annual conference of the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC), which will be held in Atlanta. The Katz Symposium will be held in Champaign, Illinois.

New ERIC/EECE Digests and Publications

The following Digests have been published by ERIC/EECE so far in the new millennium:

- *Otra perspectiva sobre lo que los niños deben estar aprendiendo,*
  a translation of *Another Look at What Young Children Should Be Learning,* a 1999 Digest by

Lilian G. Katz

- *Conferencias de padres-educadores: Sugerencias para los padres,*
  a translation of Parent-Teacher Conferences: Suggestions for Parents, a 1999 Digest by Ann-Marie Clark

- *Manejando las burlas: Cómo los padres pueden ayudar a sus hijos,*
  a translation of *Easing the Teasing: How Parents Can Help Their Children,* a 1999 Digest by Judy S. Freedman

- *Computers and Young Children*
  by Susan W. Haugland

- *Seleccionando materiales adecuados cultural y lingüísticamente: Sugerencias para los proveedores de servicios,*
  a translation of *Selecting Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Materials: Suggestions for Service Providers,* a 1999 Digest by Rosa Milagros Santos and Debbie Reese

Digests are short reports on topics of current interest in education. They are designed to provide an overview of information on a given topic and references to items that provide more detailed information. All recent ERIC/EECE Digests are available free in original printed form directly from the Clearinghouse. All ERIC/EECE Digests are available on the Internet at:

http://ericeece.org/pubs/digests.html

Paper copies can be ordered by phone (800-583-4135), by email (ericeece@uiuc.edu), or on ERIC/EECE's Web site:

http://ericeece.org/digorder.html

In December 1999, ERIC/EECE issued *Resilience Guide: A Collection of Resources on Resilience in Children and Families.* This guide is based on the ResilienceNet Web site (http://resilnet.uiuc.edu/) and contains selected readings on the resilience of children and families, a list of Internet resources, a bibliography of resilience-related texts and articles, and lists of ERIC database citations. Information about this guide is available on the ERIC/EECE Web site:

http://ericeece.org/pubs/books/resguide.html

What's New on ERIC/EECE's Web Sites

ECRP

Volume 2 number 1 of *ECRP* is one of the new additions to ERIC/EECE's Web sites. See the article *Linking Standards and Engaged Learning in the Early Years,* by Judy Harris Helm and Gaye Gronlund, which contains a Powerpoint presentation that can be viewed online or downloaded and viewed locally.

EECE

On the Clearinghouse's main Web site, we have made available three Digests in Korean. These Digests are translations of the following English Digests:

- *Another Look at What Young Children Should Be Learning*, a 1999 Digest by Lilian G. Katz
- *Helping Middle School Students Make the Transition into High School*, a 1999 Digest by Nancy B. Mizelle
- *Easing the Teasing: How Can Parents Help Their Children*, a 1999 Digest by Judy S. Freedman

These Digests can all be accessed from the Korean Digests page at:

http://ericeece.org/pubs/digests/korean.html

Please note that ERIC/EECE's Digests in Chinese and Spanish are available on the Chinese Digests and Spanish Digests pages:

http://ericeece.org/pubs/digests/chinese.html

http://ericeece.org/pubs/digests/spanish.html

Also on the ERIC/EECE Web site is a new and improved search engine. To search the ERIC/EECE Web site, see the page:

http://ericps.crc.uiuc.edu/cgi-bin/texis/webinator/eecesearch/

NPIN

A substantial redesign of the National Parent Information Network (NPIN) Web site was unveiled in December 1999. NPIN can be found at:

http://npin.org

While the same resources that were available in the old NPIN are still there in the new version, the content has been reorganized somewhat to make it easier to find information. The site was also graphically redesigned. The redesigned NPIN site contains:

- a page of information about NPIN
- a page that lists new resources over the last several months
- a Virtual Library
- information on how to send a question to ERIC
- *Parent News*, a bimonthly parenting news magazine
- descriptions of special initiatives and projects
- an improved search engine for searching NPIN resources

The Virtual Library is the heart of NPIN. This section contains book reviews, descriptions of parenting newsletters and magazines, a link to the parenting resources at the ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education (ERIC/EECE's partner in NPIN), and the main library of full-text resources.

The full-text resources are booklets, pamphlets, brochures, papers, guides, etc., produced from various sources, that can be downloaded and used right from the Web site. As of April 2000, there are approximately 425 full-text resources in this section. NPIN staff add around 10 new items monthly to

the Virtual Library. Users can also search the resources in the Virtual Library using the NPIN search engine.

Since the last issue of *ECRP* was published, NPIN has published two issues of its *Parent News* magazine. Each issue of Parent News contains a feature article, a community spotlight, articles of general interest to parents, and lists of resources.

The feature article for the January-February 2000 issue of *Parent News* was "Standardized Testing in Schools" by Peggy Patten. For the March-April 2000 issue, the feature article was "Zero-Tolerance: What Parents Should Know" by Anne S. Robertson.

Reading Pathfinder

Reading Pathfinder is a project that identifies reading-related resources on the Web and provides access to those resources from a searchable database on the project's Web site. The goal of Reading Pathfinder is to make available those resources that will help children become competent readers by third grade. To this end, Reading Pathfinder staff search the Web for relevant and good-quality resources. Information about these resources is then added to the Reading Pathfinder database. From the Reading Pathfinder Web site, visitors can search that database to find those resources. The search feature presents links to those resources in response to users' questions, so that users can go straight to the information that will help them answer their question.

You can find the Reading Pathfinder Web site at:

http://readingpath.org/

The Web site contains several pages of text that explain various issues related to helping children learn to read. There is a glossary of common terms used by professionals in reading education. There is also a list of "prepared" questions and topics that users can select to search the database. These include such questions and topics as "What is the role of literacy in education in the U.S.?" and "Preschooler Literacy Development in English" (and ... "in Spanish").

ResilienceNet

ResilienceNet is a project of ERIC/EECE and ASSIST INTERNATIONAL, INC. This Web site provides information and resources related to the resilience of children and families in the face of various adversities. This Web site has recently been translated into Spanish. The English version of the site is available at:

http://resilnet.uiuc.edu/

La página "Home" de ResilienceNet en español se puede encontrar en esta dirección:

http://resilnet.uiuc.edu/espanol/index-sp.html

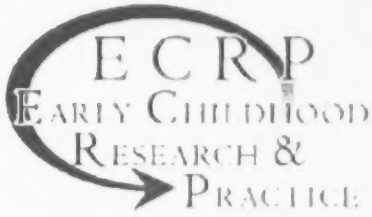
Translations are provided for the home page and the secondary pages. The actual textual resources themselves are provided in their original language. Most of these resources are in English, although there are a number of texts in the Virtual Library that are in Spanish, and a few in Chinese. There are links to other Internet sites in English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Quechua.

NAECS/SDE

The National Association of Early Childhood Specialists in State Departments of Education (NAECS/SDE) is a national organization for state education agency staff members with major responsibilities in the field of early childhood education. On the NAECS/SDE Web site, the task of uploading to the Web all the back issues of the Association's newsletter *Of Primary Interest* is just now being completed. The newsletter starts with volume 1 number 1 from Winter 1993. Visit this Web site at:

http://ericps.crc.uiuc.edu/naecs/

The Web site also contains, among other resources, a collection of NAECS/SDE Position Papers.



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